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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

**GEORGE DEXTER.
JOSIAH P. QUINCY.
HORACE E. SCUDDER.**



Yrs ever
G. S. Hillard

5

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

VOL. XIX.

1881-1882.

Published at the Charge of the Peabody Fund.



BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXXXII.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS volume contains the record of the Proceedings of the Society at its stated meetings from September, 1881, to October, 1882, both inclusive. In accordance with the Society's custom, no meetings were held in the months of July and August.

There are presented also in the volume memoirs of nine deceased Resident Members: of Dr. Joseph Palmer, by George Dexter; of the Rev. Mr. Punchard, by Henry M. Dexter; of Dr. Thaddeus William Harris, by Edward D. Harris; of Dr. Thomas H. Webb, by Josiah P. Quincy; of the Hon. George S. Hillard, by Francis W. Palfrey; of the Hon. Solomon Lincoln, by Justin Winsor; of the Hon. Charles H. Warren, by Winslow Warren; of Erastus B. Bigelow, by the late Delano A. Goddard; and of Mr. Goddard, by Charles C. Smith.

The Society has lost no less than twelve of its limited number of Resident Members during the eighteen months which have passed since the record printed in the previous volume of Proceedings; and from the honorary lists nine other names have been removed. Some notice of each of these gentlemen will be found in this volume. The tributes to Longfellow and Emer-

son are perhaps somewhat memorable, as were the services of these scholars to American literature.

An albertype of the portrait of Mr. Hillard, by William Willard, given to the Society in October, 1879, forms the frontispiece to the volume. The interest of the memoirs of Mr. Punchard, Mr. Lincoln, and Mr. Goddard is increased by portraits of their subjects. The Society is indebted to the families of Mr. Punchard and Mr. Lincoln for the portraits of these gentlemen. The other illustrations are an albertype of the signatures of several members of the Suffolk Bar at the close of the last century, placed at page 169 ; and heliotypes of the portraits of Colonel Benjamin Church and Charles Churchill, which accompany Mr. Deane's remarks on these pictures, at page 245. There is a photolithographic cut of Governor Hutchinson's house at page 74 ; and Mr. Porter's paper on President Garfield's ancestry is illustrated with cuts of the Garfield house in Lincoln, at page 85, the Garfield arms, and four autographs of members of the family.

The writer was again obliged to be absent from several successive meetings of the Society, and wishes here to bear testimony to the kindness of his friend, Mr. Porter, who accepted a temporary appointment as Secretary. While Mr. Porter kept the minutes of the meetings and performed the routine duties of the office, it was thought best to postpone the publication of the record until the Secretary's return. The entire volume has therefore been prepared for the press by the regular committee of publication.

This committee has been reconstituted, to the great

regret of its chairman and of the Society. Messrs. Green and Smith retired at the June meeting of this year, after long services, and their places were filled by the appointment of Messrs. Josiah P. Quincy and Horace E. Scudder.

GEORGE DEXTER.

Boston, Dec. 16, 1882

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OF THE
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ELECTED APRIL 13, 1882.

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MEMBERS DECEASED.

Resident, Honorary, and Corresponding Members, who have died since the publication of the List of Members in the last volume of the Proceedings, Aug. 18, 1881; or of whose death information has been received since that date.

Resident.

Samuel F. Haven, LL.D.	Delano A. Goddard, A.M.
Rev. William Newell, D.D.	Hon. Alexander H. Bullock, LL.D.
John A. Lowell, LL.D.	Henry W. Longfellow, LL.D.
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Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D.	Frederic De Peyster, LL.D.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEPTEMBER MEETING, 1881.

THE stated monthly meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at 3 o'clock P.M., in the Dowse Library; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the previous meeting, and it was approved.

The Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the meeting in June.

The PRESIDENT then said : —

The three months which have intervened, Gentlemen, since we adjourned, on the 9th of June, for our midsummer vacation, have been notable in many ways, and in some ways most sadly and deplorably notable. The murderous assault made upon the President of the United States on the 2d of July last, with all its terrible suffering for him, and with all its anxieties and deep sorrow for the people, — I might say of the world, — has cast a gloom over the whole period, almost like a prolonged eclipse. There is no one of us, I am sure, or of this whole community, who has not felt the keenest commiseration for him and his family, and who has not sincerely prayed for his early relief and his entire restoration to health and usefulness. And, as this is our first meeting since the event occurred, and, more especially, as some hours of this very day have been set apart, by a proclamation from the Governors of our own and other States, for solemn Prayer for the President's recovery, the Council have agreed with me that it is fit for us to give some expression of our abhorrence of the act, of our sympathy with the illustrious sufferer, and of our

admiration of the patience and fortitude with which the long agony has been borne.

I am, accordingly, authorized to present the following Resolutions, as the first business of this meeting : —

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society, in meeting for the first time since the great crime of the 2d of July was committed at Washington, are unwilling that their records should be without some allusion to the atrocity and wickedness of an assault, which has so deeply afflicted our country, and which has left so foul a blot on the pages of American history.

Resolved, That we offer to President Garfield the assurance of our unfeigned grief, as a Society and as individuals, for the protracted and painful sufferings which he has been doomed to endure at the hands of an assassin, and which he has borne with a resignation and a bravery which have commanded respect and admiration at home and abroad.

Resolved, That these Resolutions be respectfully communicated to Mrs. Garfield, with an expression of our heartfelt sympathy with herself and the President, and of our earnest hopes and prayers that he may still be spared to his family and his country.

These Resolutions were unanimously adopted, and the President was requested to inform Mrs. Garfield of the Society's action.

The PRESIDENT then continued as follows : —

I turn now from our great national sorrow to events which have affected us more particularly as a Society. Six deaths have occurred since we last met, which call for a longer or shorter notice. We have lost three of our Resident Members, and three of our Foreign Honorary or Corresponding Members.

Mr. Charles Wesley Tuttle, who was born in Maine, Nov. 1, 1829, died, most unexpectedly to us all, on the 18th of July last, at his residence in this city. There are others of our number, who knew him more intimately than I did, who will bear testimony to his character and accomplishments. But I cannot forbear from expressing briefly my own sense of his devotion to the work in which we are engaged. I knew him first while I was — as, I believe, I still am — one of the Visiting Committee of the Astronomical Observatory at Cambridge. He was there as one of the corps of ob-

servers, and distinguished himself by the discovery of a telescopic comet, in 1858, which I believe bears his name. In the following year he was attached to the United States expedition for determining the difference of longitude between Cambridge in New England and Greenwich in Old England. In this relation he made several contributions to the "Astronomical Journal" and to the "Annals of the Harvard Observatory."

Finding, however, that he had taxed his eyes too severely, he was compelled to abandon his scientific pursuits, and, after a year or more at the Dane Law School, he was admitted to the Suffolk Bar in 1856, and entered at once on the successful practice of his profession. He soon began to evince an eager interest in New England history, and contributed many historical articles to the Register of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, of which he was long an active member.

Our own Proceedings bear abundant evidence of the earnestness with which he entered into our labors, after he became a member of this Society in 1873. He was rarely absent from our monthly meetings, and was a frequent contributor of interesting and valuable matter to our volumes. At the time of his death, he was engaged in preparing a Memoir of his friend, the late Hon. Caleb Cushing, and other biographical works, which it may be hoped will not be lost. He was a man of great intelligence and energy, valued by us all as an associate and friend, and his death, at only fifty-one years of age, is a serious loss to the working corps of our Society.

The Hon. Seth Ames, a son of the great orator and statesman, Fisher Ames, died at Longwood, Brookline, on the 15th of August last. A graduate of Harvard in 1825, he at once devoted himself to the law; practised largely at the Middlesex Bar; was at one time City Solicitor of Lowell; then one of the first Judges, and afterward Chief Justice, of the Superior Court; and, in 1869, one of the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. This last office he resigned on account of infirmities, in January last, having held it for twelve years. He was a laborious and upright judge, in whom every one had confidence. The Life and Writings of his eminent father were prepared and published by him, in 1854, in two volumes. He was chosen a Resident Member of this Society in 1864; but his official duties did not allow of any frequent attendance at our meet-

ings. It will be for some one of our number associated with him in College, or in his legal and judicial career, to do justice, now or hereafter, to a character respected by us all.

Born in 1805, he died in his seventy-sixth year.

Dr. Samuel F. Haven, the faithful and devoted librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, died at Worcester, at seventy-five years of age, on the 5th instant. He has been one of our Resident Members for more than twenty years; and his presence at our meetings, whenever he was able to attend them, has been peculiarly welcome. He has brought an atmosphere of antiquarianism and research always with him, and has often done valuable work in connection with early Massachusetts history. I will not attempt to add to the just tributes which have been already paid to him by the Antiquarian Society at Worcester, but will confine myself to this brief statement of his death, with an expression of the sincere esteem and respect which we all entertained for him.

By a striking coincidence, an Ocean Telegram announced to us, this very morning, the death of John Winter Jones, F.S.A., known to many of us personally, and to the literary world in general, as formerly for many years the keeper of the British Museum, and who succeeded the celebrated Panizzi as the librarian of that noble institution in 1866. Born early in this century, he was obliged to retire from all active duties several years ago; but he had made his mark as an able and accomplished librarian, and as the editor of several rare works republished by the Hakluyt Society, as well as by numerous original contributions to biographical and historical literature. He had many qualities and characteristics in common with our friend Dr. Haven, and their lives and labors were devoted to the same objects. Dr. Jones was elected a Corresponding Member of this Society in 1867.

From our foreign honorary roll we have lost John Hill Burton, D.C.L., a Scotch advocate and historian of high distinction. He was the author of a work on "Political and Social Economy," of an "Introduction to the Works of Jeremy Bentham," of "Narrations from Criminal Trials in Scotland," of the "Life and Correspondence of David Hume," and of some lighter volumes and essays. But his reputation will mainly rest on his elaborate "History of Scotland, from Agricola's Invasion to the Extinction of the last Jacobite

Insurrection," in eight volumes, which has been called the best account of Scotland ever written, and one of the completest histories of any country. On the publication of this work he was appointed by the Queen "Historiographer Royal for Scotland." He has lately published a "History of the Reign of Queen Anne," in three volumes, which is also highly spoken of.

He was born at Aberdeen, Aug. 22, 1809, and died at seventy-two years of age. His name had been but recently placed on our roll.

The most distinguished name, which, alas ! is henceforth to be lost to our living honorary roll, is that of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, who died at the deanery of Westminster, on the 19th of July last. Few names have occupied a larger space than his for a quarter of a century past in the world of letters or of religion. Few names, I think, will be associated in the future, as well as in the hearts of thousands of those now living, with more of that which is honest, pure, lovely, and of good report. Of his career as a minister of the Church of England, this is hardly the place to speak ; and, if it were, I am hardly the person to speak. We all know that he was not so wedded to forms or creeds or dogmas as many of the stricter churchmen of his own country or of ours. Meantime he held to them all with more tenacity than was altogether agreeable to the views of other Christian communions of both countries. And thus he was the subject through life, and his name has been the subject since his death, on both sides of the Atlantic and on all sides of sectarian theology, of occasional disparagement and invidious remark. No name will suffer from such strictures in the long run.

For myself, as an American churchman, in the broadest sense of that term, and as one who had enjoyed some measure of his friendship for many years, and who reveres his memory, I am content that his religious character should rest, where it may rest so safely in all time to come, on the words uttered in the upper house of Convocation, on the day of his death, by the excellent primate of all England. "It is but right," said the Archbishop of Canterbury, "that I should notice that in my estimation there has been a great loss to this, our national Church. The Church of England has comprehended within its members, ever since the Reformation, persons of great variety of opinion, and the school of thought with which the Dean of Westminster was most asso-

ciated has, in my estimation, had a most important part to play in the history of our national Church. There are, in a great community like ours, a vast number of persons who are not members of our own or of any other church, and there are persons whose temptations are altogether in the direction of scepticism; and my own impression is that the works of the late Dean of Westminster have confirmed in the Christian faith a vast number of such persons. . . . I cannot," he adds, "fail to express my conviction, that the historical element which pervades his writings has had a great effect in giving life to the belief of many who look on the whole history of the Bible with a somewhat sceptical eye, and who, if they had not had such guidance, would have been apt to wander altogether from the belief of the Divine lessons which the sacred volume contains."

No one need add any thing to such an expression from such a source, and no one can take away any thing from its authority or its force.

In turning over recently a little collection of the miscellaneous pamphlets which the good Dean has sent me from time to time, I found that the very first, in the order in which I had caused them to be arranged and bound, was his sermon on "Christian Fraternity," delivered in Westminster Abbey on the 30th of November, 1874. I like to associate his name with that phrase. He was peculiarly an apostle of Christian fraternity, — of that brotherly love which has so happily supplanted the *odium theologicum* of former times. And in that relation his name will grow brighter and brighter as the Christian day advances.

As a churchman at once liberal and loyal, no narrowness or bigotry has ever blinded him to what was best in other Christian denominations. He has delighted to pay brilliant tributes to Richard Baxter, John Bunyan, and the Wesleys, and to visit the tombs of Jonathan Edwards and William Ellery Channing. Meantime the chivalry with which "he threw the shield of his high rank and stainless reputation," as Canon Farrar so well said, over any who were oppressed or persecuted for opinion's sake, even at the risk of being held responsible for views from which he entirely dissented, furnishes an element of his character and a clew to his sometimes perplexing course, that will always redound to his honor.

But it is in his relations to biography and history that he is to be remembered by this Society. His charming Life of his noble old master at Rugby, Dr. Thomas Arnold, and,

more recently, of his own father and mother; his delightful volumes on the Eastern Church and the Jewish Church and the Scotch Church; his vivid sketches of Sinai and Palestine; his memorials of Canterbury Cathedral, and of the glorious Abbey of which he was so long the guardian genius, — I had almost said the guardian angel, — all these works have at once earned for their author the admiration and gratitude of all English-speaking people, and have entitled him to be counted among the most valuable contributors not only to the history of religion and the illustration of the Bible, but to English history, — so long our own history.

And if to all these productions be added the unceasing stream of thought, discussion, commentary, criticism, essay of every sort, which flowed from his pen into the pages of so many magazines and reviews, or flowed from his lips in the pulpit, almost to the last hour of his life, — it would be difficult, I think, to name the man, on either side of the Atlantic, who has contributed more than Dean Stanley has done to the wholesomest public opinion of his period.

How can I fail to allude, before concluding this imperfect notice, to the regard which he so uniformly exhibited for our own land; ever seeking and ever finding opportunities of personal kindness to Americans in England, and doing more than the most skilful diplomacy could do in strengthening the ties of friendship and good-will between the two nations? In the latest audible words which fell from his dying lips he is reported to have said: "I have labored amidst many frailties and much weakness to make this institution [Westminster Abbey] more and more the great centre of religious and national life in a truly liberal spirit." But, in the administration of that grand Abbey, the national life of England was not alone considered. When it was opened by him, with the authority of the Queen, for the repose of the remains of George Peabody until their removal to Danvers, and again for the funeral of Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio, and when his pulpit was repeatedly occupied at his special request on a Fourth of July, and on other days, by more than one of our American clergymen, it was seen that his liberal spirit had no local or territorial limitations. He delighted to the very last, as I have abundant reason to remember, in welcoming Americans to the Abbey, and in pointing out whatever would be most interesting to them, opening to them the far-famed Jerusalem Chamber, and receiving them gladly under his own roof.

Nor can any of us forget the eager interest he manifested,

during his recent tour in this country, in visiting Plymouth Rock, in attending the 250th anniversary of Salem, and in coming more than once to these historical rooms. The postscript to the last letter which I received from him, dated April 16, took pains to say: "Mr. Lowell is very popular, and presides this year at the Literary Fund." In that letter, however, he gave some indication of failing health, when he said: "I have stood the hard winter very well. Now that the iron hand of frost, snow, and east wind is withdrawn, I am a little relaxed." His tour in America had served to dispel, in some degree, the depression produced by the death of his devoted and charming wife. It happened that I was with him in Paris when she was first taken seriously ill. I recall a most interesting visit which I made with him to the famous Conciergerie, as a diversion from his cares, where we were admitted to the apartments from which Marie Antoinette was led out to execution, and where Robespierre was at last imprisoned before his own execution. I recall the proof he incidentally gave me of his marvellous memory and readiness, when, chancing to allude to the celebrated *Memoirs of St. Simon*, he seized a pen on my table and dashed off, in a hand more than usually legible for him, three or four pages of detailed references to passages in that extraordinary work of at least twenty volumes, which were especially worth reading. But the anxieties and agonies of the protracted and lingering illness of Lady Augusta, in Paris and in London, with its fatal issue, prepared the way for his own too early departure.

He was only in his sixty-sixth year when he died, having been born in 1815. He was the son of the late Bishop of Norwich, who was of the family of the Lords Stanley of Alderley, who descended from a common ancestor with the more famous Stanleys, Earls of Derby. His wife was a sister of the late Earl of Elgin, who was well known on this side of the Atlantic as governor-general of Canada, and of Sir Frederick Bruce, the British minister, who died suddenly in Boston in 1867.

The Dean had been an Honorary Member of this Society for thirteen years.

It is not the custom of our Society, as you know, Gentlemen, to pass Resolutions in regard to the deaths of Honorary Members, and I offer, therefore, with the authority of the Council, Resolutions only for the usual notice of those who have been immediately associated with us: —

Resolved, That we have heard with deep regret the announcement of the death of our valued associate and earnest fellow-worker, Charles W. Tuttle, Esq., and that the President appoint one of our number to prepare a Memoir of him for our Proceedings.

Resolved, That we entertain the highest respect for the memory of the Hon. Seth Ames, for many years one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and that the President appoint one of our number to prepare the customary Memoir.

Resolved, That, in the death of Dr. Samuel F. Haven, the cause of antiquarian and historical inquiry and research has lost one of its most devoted and effective laborers through a long life, and that a Memoir of him for our Proceedings be prepared by one of our number, to be appointed by the President.

The Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS spoke as follows :—

I should certainly not undertake, sir, to add any thing to what you have so justly said about Dean Stanley, were it not that I should like to suggest one point of association between him and the pathetic services in which many of us have been engaged to-day. Immediately after the murderous assault upon President Garfield, prayers were offered for his recovery in Westminster Abbey, and they have continued to be offered there from that time until now. This was by the direction of the Dean. It may be that the same prayers have been offered in many churches in England during these anxious weeks, but, if it is so, there is none in which they have been the utterance of a more genuine respect and love for this country than in the venerable Abbey. For Dean Stanley's affection for this country has been very long and deep. Years before he came among us, those of us who went to him found him full of the most intelligent curiosity about the United States, and of the profoundest sense of the importance of our national life. It was part of the working of that historic spirit which never failed. Even more interesting than the application of the historic sense of the Dean to the problems of the past was the way in which it dealt with the present. As it gave to the past vitality and reality, so it gave to the present dignity and meaning. Every event that occurred, every man who lived, every book that was written,

every discovery that was made, was to him part of that great drama on which the curtain never falls, and where each humblest actor's part has its significance. This was what gave him such wide interest in men for whose pursuits he cared but little. The notable company which always filled the deanery comprised artists to whose art he was largely indifferent, and musicians for whose music he did not care, and scientific men whose special studies he had never followed. But it was the men themselves that he valued. In each of them, however foreign their pursuits were to him, however little he sympathized with their opinions, he recognized an actor in the same great drama, a fellow-worker with himself in the wide work of life. Thus it was that his historic sense lay at the bottom of his catholicity. It lay at the root of every thing he thought and did. For everywhere he was the historian, and if there is one place above all others where he ought to be commemorated, it is in an Historical Society.

As a student of Christian theology I cannot help expressing my sense of the value of Dean Stanley's historical labors to the church and the religion which he loved. He made the Christian Church live in men's minds by showing it to be the flower of human life and identifying its progress with the great growth of humanity. He untwined with delicate and reverent finger the accidental from the essential in Christian faith, and made us see with wonderful clearness the true simplicity and spirituality of Christianity. This he has done most powerfully in his last book, which is perhaps the most characteristic of his writings, the *Treatise upon Christian Institutions*. He showed us that much which we thought was old was really new, and so he filled our thought of the church with freedom and hope. He showed us that much which we thought was new was really old, and so he scattered many a panic which was gathering in the church. His conception of the Church of Christ, represented in his own immediate surroundings by the Church of England, was not merely lofty and inspiring: it was a conception which no man could have reached save by the power of the historic sense, which ruled in him and which made him everywhere the man he was.

Surely it is good to remember that our Society bore upon its rolls the name of one who, if not the most profound or the most philosophical, was the most human, the most sympathetic, the most interesting of the historical students of our day. And it is good to know that he himself cordially valued his association with us.

Mr. WINSLOW WARREN said:—

Mr. President,—I labor under the same difficulty that many of us experience, in attempting to add any thing to your own admirable remarks, but my friendship for our deceased associate, Charles W. Tuttle, leads me to a few simple words of recognition and respect. It is a great regret to me that our friendship had not commenced at an earlier period, that I could have done more ample justice to his early fame as an astronomer and scientific man; but of that portion of his life, so full of promise, and of performance also, I have little knowledge other than as gathered from the regrets of his many friends and co-workers, that he should have been compelled to forsake a career that opened so brilliantly, to tread the more prosaic paths of the law.

Mr. Tuttle was admitted to the bar of Suffolk County in 1856, and upon my own admission, a very few years later, I became acquainted with him through a similar practice in the courts. The intimacy thus formed continued without interruption to the time of his most unexpected decease, and gave me full opportunity to see and appreciate the strength and purity of his character. Very early in my interviews with him at his office or elsewhere, I became impressed with his earnest devotion to the interests of his clients, and with the persistent energy in which he delved at the very foundations of principles of law involved in the cases with which he was connected. He gave to his clients the utmost of his abilities, and those of no mean order, and he left untried no honest method for success. Wherever the study of the law led, as it often does, along the paths of history, his ardor was so enkindled anew, and all the enthusiasm of his nature so fully aroused, that in his earliest practice one wondered whether the lawyer would absorb the astronomer, or the historian the lawyer.

He was a man of great simplicity of character, and with an unobtrusive modesty that gave charm to social intercourse, though in some degree perhaps obscuring marked abilities and proving a hindrance to professional success. His true field was that of the historian and scholar, rather than of the busy man of affairs. He possessed a remarkable fund of historical knowledge, more particularly of matters connected with the early settlement of Maine and New Hampshire, was critical and accurate, and indefatigable in investigation of nice and doubtful points.

For some years before his admission to this Society, in 1873, he had been a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and of several State historical societies, and their records attest the value and constancy of his work. To this Society I feel that his loss is a very great one. Probably not many here present knew him well, but those that did know him appreciated the extent of his attainments, the power for work there was in him, and the promise of important historical contributions to our Collections. Of the younger members there are but few whose attendance has been more constant, whose interest more active, and whose contributions more valuable, and if in the full maturity of his powers he had been enabled to devote himself more completely to those historical researches so congenial to his tastes, his rank would have been among the highest of our laborers in the field of history.

At the time of his death he was engaged upon a life of Captain John Mason, and had made a very extensive collection of material. It is to be hoped that this may not be lost to the world, and that his work was so far advanced as to make its completion by others possible.

Our friend has been taken almost in the prime of his strength, but he has left a worthy example of an earnest, painstaking, laborious life, and furnished a rare instance of a man combining the astronomer, the lawyer, and the historian, and achieving a good degree of success in each profession.

The Resolutions were then adopted.

The second section having been called upon for communications, Mr. H. C. LODGE presented and read extracts from the familiar correspondence of the Hon. Elijah H. Mills, prefacing them with the following introduction:—

The writer of the following letters, Elijah Hunt Mills, sprang from a good Puritan family whose founder came from England about 1630, and settled near Boston. Thence he, or some of his descendants, removed to Connecticut, where they seem to have prospered. Several of the line in direct descent were clergymen, and the father of Mr. Mills, the Rev. Benjamin Mills, a graduate of Yale College, was the first minister of Chesterfield, where the writer of these letters was born, Dec. 3, 1776. Benjamin Mills and his wife both died young, and within six years of each other, while their son Elijah was a mere child. The orphan was adopted by his maternal uncle, Elijah Hunt, of Northampton, and there

the boy grew up and was educated, graduating afterward in due course at Williams College. After leaving college he studied law, was admitted to the bar, and married his cousin, Miss Sarah Hunt, who died within a year after her marriage. In 1804 he married, for his second wife, Miss Harriette Blake, youngest daughter of Joseph Blake, of Boston. Mr. Mills rose rapidly at the bar and soon became the leader in his county, and in the western part of the State, together with his partner, John H. Ashmun, who was subsequently Royall Professor at the Harvard Law School. Mr. Mills was an able and successful lawyer and advocate. The late Professor Washburn, of Cambridge, who was a student in the office of Mills & Ashmun, said of him: "The brief (prepared usually by Mr. Ashmun) was submitted to Mr. Mills, who appeared to apprehend it instinctively, and, with a slight conversation, went forth equipped for the contest. He was in person of full size, well formed, erect and graceful in his carriage, with an eye which, when lighted up with excitement, was as powerful as the eye of the Caliph Vathek upon the heart of a dishonest witness. He was connected with Judge Howe in the management of the law school at Northampton, but his health was then in a decline, and he gradually withdrew from the school, and at last from the duties of the law office. When I first saw him he appeared to my boyish imagination a most wonderful lawyer. At the courts in Hampshire he was the adversary of Hon. Lewis Strong and Hon. Isaac C. Bates. The contests between them used to call together large audiences. The people seemed delighted to witness the intellectual struggles of these eminent advocates."

While Mr. Mills was winning his way to eminence at the bar, he also took an active part in politics, and was elected to the Senate of Massachusetts in 1811, as a Federalist. In 1815 he was chosen to represent his district in Congress, where he served two terms. On his withdrawal he was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, of which he was chosen Speaker, May 31, 1820, receiving on the first ballot one hundred and forty-three out of one hundred and fifty-one votes. A few weeks later he was chosen to the Senate of the United States for the short term caused by the resignation of the Hon. Prentiss Mellen, and at the same time for the full term which began in the following year. Mr. Mills was elected senator by a party vote, receiving twenty-eight votes in the Senate and seventy-eight in the House, against seven and twenty-seven respectively, cast for the Democratic candidate, Mr. Crowninshield.

Mr. Mills's political career was hampered by constant ill health, which finally caused him to withdraw from public life at the end of his term in 1827, when he was succeeded in the Senate by Mr. Webster. After this his health rapidly failed, and he died at Northampton, May 5, 1829.

It is not easy to see why Mr. Mills remained in public life so long as he did, for he seems to have cared but little for official honors, and was utterly careless of his opportunities of advancement and seemingly devoid of ambition. He was always painstaking and conscientious, a good debater, although not indulging often in speaking, and his speeches show wide and sound information and solid, if not brilliant, abilities. The letters which follow were all written from Washington during his political life, and are, with one exception, addressed to his wife. I am indebted to Mrs. Peirce, widow of Professor Benjamin Peirce, and to Mrs. Davis, widow of Rear Admiral C. H. Davis, daughters of Mr. Mills, for the opportunity of publishing these extracts from the correspondence of their father.

"WASHINGTON, *Tuesday*, Dec. 12, 1815.

"I have just arrived in this great city, and although worn out with fatigue, and somewhat afflicted with a cold, I cannot go to bed without letting you know I am safely landed in my destined port. I wrote you from New York just before I left the city, since which I have not been out of the stage long enough to write so much as there is now on this paper. I left New York with Mr. Byers on Saturday afternoon, came in a steamboat as far as Elizabeth-Town (about eighteen miles), and on Sunday morning took the stage for Philadelphia, where we arrived about eight in the evening. Finding Mr. Byers too much of an invalid to travel with such rapidity, and falling in with a Mr. Kent, a member of Congress from the State of New York, I left Philadelphia with him at two o'clock on Monday morning, and arrived at Baltimore about twelve at night. This morning at seven we left Baltimore, and arrived here about four this afternoon. You will perceive, of course, that I allowed myself no time to view either Philadelphia or Baltimore as I could have wished. But I will not tire you with a minute account of my travels, nor a description of the places through which I passed. It is impossible for me to describe to you my feelings on entering this miserable desert, this scene of desolation and horror. I had heard much of it, my impressions in regard to its appearance were all unfavorable. But I had formed no adequate conceptions upon the subject. My anticipations were almost infinitely short of the reality, and I can truly say that the first appearance of this seat of the national government has produced in me nothing but absolute loathing and disgust. But I reserve for a future communication a description which may partake less of prejudice, and for which I may be better prepared. On my arrival, I drove to the most

respectable public house, where I found my friend Hulbert,* and a number of respectable members. Mr. H. and myself have a very comfortable and convenient chamber by ourselves, with a fire, where we shall remain for a few days, until we can secure other lodgings. Many of the most distinguished members have not arrived, and very little business of any importance has been transacted. Present appearances indicate a peaceful and harmonious session."

"*Sunday Evening, Dec. 24, 1815.*

"If I had known the course of business here, I should not have left home so soon. Nothing of public importance has yet been done in Congress, and will not be for several days to come. The session will then become interesting and busy, though I think appearances indicate a quiet and peaceable winter. I agree with you in your remarks on the President's message, and should his friends adopt the measures therein recommended, I am sure they will have all the aid which most of the Federalists can give them. There are very few among us who feel so much party animosity as to oppose a good measure merely because it is recommended by a man who has heretofore adopted only bad measures."

"*Saturday, Dec. 30, 1815.*

"It has not been for the want of inclination that I have not written you for the last three or four days, for although there has been very little business in Congress to occupy my attention, yet I have been constantly engaged in attending to some private business for my *constituents* and friends, who think they have a right to call on me for that purpose. I have to-day, for the first time, paid my respects to the President.† I went in company with Mr. Hulbert, who had visited him last winter. I was agreeably disappointed in his appearance and manners, — not that I thought there could be nothing pleasant or agreeable about a man of his political principles, but you know we generally form an opinion of the deportment and address of a great man from what little we may have heard respecting him, and that opinion is very often erroneous. We found him alone, and he was not only very gentlemanly and polite, but exceedingly affable and pleasant. He is a small man (*about my height*, but not so *portly* as I am), with a mixture of ease and dignity in his manners and conversation, — altogether very pleasant. He has much more the appearance of what I have imagined a Roman Catholic Cardinal to be, than the civil and military head of a *great* and *enlightened* nation, as you know this is. I have not yet made my appearance in the drawing-room, and think it doubtful whether I shall during the winter. If I do, I shall endeavor to give you some imperfect description of its manners and beauties."

* John W. Hulbert, Representative in Congress from Massachusetts from 1814 to 1817. — L.

† Mr. Madison. — L.

"Sunday, Jan. 7, 1816.

"On New Year's Day the whole city and most of the members of Congress went to the President's levee to pay him the felicitations of the season, and gaze unmeaningly at each other. But as no one felt inclined to go from our house, I remained at home. Mr. Hanson * has just arrived with his wife and Miss Pickering of Salem, and has taken a house within a few doors of ours, and I promise myself some visiting there in a free and friendly manner. He is a charming man, open, frank, honest, and intelligent, and destitute of that mean and selfish jealousy of others which is too apparent in some of our great men here. Randolph † has not yet arrived, but is expected every hour. He is to be one of our mess, but I confess I have my doubts whether his manners and deportment will be such as to make him a very interesting companion. You inquire about our speakers in Congress. We have had but one or two subjects before us which have excited much interest, or called forth the talents of the house. Some of the new members have, I think wisely, embraced the opportunity which the minor topics have presented, to make their *maiden* speeches. But this course has appeared to me so much like talking merely to make a speech, that I have hitherto avoided *coming out*. There is now a subject of somewhat greater interest before us, and had I not devoted myself this evening to the more pleasant task of writing to you, my dear wife, I should have set myself about preparing for my *début*. But opportunities enough will present when I cannot avoid it, and I believe I shall make no attempt until I am obliged to. The weather during the first ten days or fortnight after my arrival was delightfully pleasant and mild, but for the last week it has been more severe, and the ground is covered with snow three or four inches deep. We do not walk to the Capitol, our landlord sends us in a carriage, — that being a part of his contract, — so that we are less exposed in bad weather than those who live nearer to the place of meeting."

"Thursday, Jan. 11, 1816.

"Since I last wrote you, three important incidents have befallen me. I have made a speech, drunk tea at Mrs. Barlow's, ‡ and been to the drawing-room. Of these in their order. My speech was altogether accidental, and from the spur of the moment. It was, however, well received by the House; and though I was not satisfied with myself, it seemed not to disappoint the expectation of my friends. It was not a set speech, but a few incidental remarks. The sketch contained in the paper which I enclose you is a very, very imperfect one. But the

* Alexander Contee Hanson, Representative in Congress from 1813 to 1816, and Senator from Maryland from 1816 to his death in 1819. At the outbreak of the war of 1812, as he was an ardent Federalist, his newspaper office in Baltimore was mobbed, and he was himself desperately wounded and some of his friends killed. — L.

† John Randolph, of Roanoke. — L.

‡ Mrs. Joel Barlow, who lived at Kalorama, which still retains much of its beauty. — L.

editor of the 'National Intelligencer' (a Democratic paper) says he shall do me better justice. I beg, therefore, you will pronounce no judgment at present. The subject was not a party one, but a mere question of constitutional right. Upon the same subject we have the speeches of all the first men in the House, — from Gaston, Hopkinson, Pinkney, Hanson, and Calhoun on the same side with myself, and from Forsyth, Cuthbert, Randolph, King,* &c., in opposition to us. I intended to give you a particular account of the speeches of Pinkney and Randolph, who were the respective champions; but Mr. Hanson has just come into my room, and I am obliged to wind up as soon as possible. He insists on my finishing; I will therefore write you more particularly at another time about them. I must also postpone the account I meant to give of the mixed and motley crew I met at the drawing-room. I met with Mr. Jere. Mason,† and found there as full a crowd as ever was in a bar-room. But I must stop, or be very uncivil."

"Saturday Evening, Jan. 13, 1816."

"You may wish to be informed how my time is occupied. I will inform you, for the history of one day will answer, without the slightest variation, for every other. We are called to breakfast about nine or half after nine in the morning; as soon as that is through, we prepare for the House. At about ten or half after we start, and arrive at the Hall in season for business, which commences at eleven. Here we are occupied till half-past three or four o'clock; we then ride home, and sit down to dinner generally a little before sunset, and finish, of course, after candle-light. Our dinners, however, though *profuse*, are temperate, and we do not indulge even in a glass of wine more than every other day. About eight we have a cup of tea sent round; and thus the fore part of the evening is destroyed. I then retire to my chamber with the letters and papers I may have received from abroad, and have generally more than I can do to return the regular answers. Sometimes we have an evening call from some members of Congress, but this happens so seldom, it is an exception to the general rule; and as to going out, it is entirely out of the question with me. You remark that I 'say nothing of the females I meet.' The simple and plain reason is I have met none, except in the instances I am about to mention, — excepting those who occasionally appear in the gallery to hear the debates, and those, of course, I can only see at a distance, without knowing who they are. Having repeatedly received letters from William Sullivan,‡ enclosing others to Mrs. Sargent, I thought I could not avoid calling on her, which I did a few mornings before I understood she was to leave town. I found her and her mother — a Mrs.

* William Gaston, of North Carolina; Joseph Hopkinson, of Pennsylvania; William Pinkney and Alexander Hanson, of Maryland; John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; John Forsyth and Alfred Cuthbert, of Georgia; John Randolph, of Virginia; and Cyrus King, of Massachusetts. — L.

† At this time Senator from New Hampshire. — L.

‡ Son of Governor James Sullivan, of Massachusetts. — L.

Baldwin, and a daughter of Alexander Wolcott — at Mrs. Barlow's. Mrs. Barlow is herself a very ladylike and well-bred woman, of about fifty-five or sixty years old, with an extensive knowledge of the world and acquaintance with society. Mrs. Baldwin, I believe, is a niece of hers, who resides in the family. A few days after this call I received a very polite invitation to take tea with them, entirely in a family way, which I did, and found there none but their family, excepting Colonel Bomford, a very gentlemanly, and, what is more extraordinary, unassuming and modest, officer in the army, who is also a connection of the family. In the evening we had music on the piano from Mrs. Sargent and Mrs. Baldwin alternately, accompanied by Miss Wolcott's voice and the colonel, who plays delightfully on the violin. On the whole, I passed a pleasant evening; the more so as Mrs. Sargent took frequent occasions of speaking of your voice and manner of singing as the finest she ever heard. Finding they were all going to the drawing-room the next evening, I thought it would be a better opportunity for me than to go among total and entire strangers, without a single acquaintance to recognize or keep me in countenance. I went with Mr. Mason, the Senator from New Hampshire, who presented me to Mrs. Madison. The crowd was so great, however, before we arrived, that I could barely approach so as to make my bow, and then mingled with the throng. Two large rooms were full to overflowing, so that a very small proportion even of the ladies could sit down, and one could not move about without literally forcing others out of the way. Coffee and wine and punch were handed about, and whips to the ladies; and after being crowded and jammed here for about an hour, Mr. Mason and myself took our departure. Of the company there I cannot say much. Mrs. Madison seemed affable and courteous to all, and seemed to distribute her attentions and smiles with an equal and impartial hand. She is very tall and corpulent, nearly as much so as Mrs. Dwight. Her manners are easy rather than graceful, and pleasant rather than refined. Here were to be found all classes and conditions of society, from the minister plenipotentiary of the Emperor of Russia to the under-clerks of the post-office and the *printer* of a paper. Ambassadors and consuls, members of Congress and officers of the army and navy, greasy boots and silk stockings, Virginia buckskins and Yankee cowhides, all mingled in ill-assorted and fantastic groups. The ladies had a more uniform appearance. They were all *well dressed*, though many of them had very much the manners and appearance of 'high life below stairs;' and I can truly say no one would have been exposed to any danger from the grace of their manners or the charms of their beauty. I spoke to none, excepting only the party with Mrs. Barlow. This, my dear Harriette, is the history of my *migrations*; and I assure you I did not derive from the drawing-room sufficient pleasure to induce me to repeat the visit very soon."

"WASHINGTON, Saturday, Jan. 19, 1816.

"Our business in Congress becomes more interesting, and occupies much more of our time and attention than when I first arrived. I see

nobody except those I meet at Congress Hall or in our own mess. Mr. Randolph is not at our house, as I expected; but we see a good deal of him, both here and in Congress. He speaks upon every occasion, and abuses almost everybody. He is really a most singular and interesting man, — regardless entirely of form and ceremony in some things, and punctilious to an extreme in others. He yesterday dined with us. He was dressed in a rough, coarse, short hunting-coat, with small-clothes and boots, and over his boots a pair of coarse coating *leggens*, tied with strings round his legs. He engrossed almost the whole conversation, and was exceedingly amusing, as well as eloquent and instructive. I think his talents as an orator and a statesman have been much overrated by his admirers, and that he will not meet with so much celebrity in future as he once did."

"Wednesday, Jan. 24, 1816.

"There is much perturbation among the Democrats about the next President, and we entertain stronger hopes than we have heretofore that we shall, at least, be able to prevent their taking Mr. Monroe."

"BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, Friday, March 8, 1816.

"I am thus far on my way home, and have been obliged to stop here, on account of the extreme badness of the road, until to-morrow, when I hope to get a passage to New York in the steamboat from this place. I left Washington on Monday, as I told you I should, and have been very busily employed for five days to get so far on my way. Mr. Rice* of Augusta is with me, which makes the journey less irksome than it would be if I were alone. From Washington to Baltimore we went in the first day. There we took passage in a packet for French-Town in the Chesapeake Bay, and were delayed by a dead calm, so that we were twenty-four hours performing a passage usually completed in six. On Wednesday we left our packet and went overland to Newcastle. There we again took a packet, and arrived in Philadelphia late in the evening. On Thursday we remained in that city, the stage being too full to receive us that day. We spent the day, of course, in running about and examining the beauties and the curiosities of this interesting and extensive city. I had letters of introduction to some gentlemen there, given me by Mr. Sergeant,† a member of Congress from that city; but as Mr. Rice was with me, who had been there before, and as I felt more anxious to see the *place* than the *people*, I did not avail myself of his civility by delivering the letters. Mr. Rice and myself went to the museum, the theatre, the hospital, almshouse, and all the places worth seeing; and I assure you we enjoyed, at least, the contrast between the dreary and miserable city we had left, destitute of every thing which can render it

* Thomas Rice, Representative from Massachusetts, 1815-1819. — L.

† John Sergeant, Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, 1815-1823, 1827-1829, 1837-1842, leader in debate on Missouri Compromise, and Whig candidate for Vice-President in 1832. — L.

interesting, and this residence of every thing which can adorn and embellish society. This morning we left it at two o'clock, and ought to have arrived in New York this evening. But the excessive badness of the roads has arrested our progress at a distance of about forty miles from it. I shall make no stay in New York, but shall press my journey with all the rapidity in my power, and shall be with you, my dear Harriette, I hope, by the Friday stage." *

" Wednesday, Dec. 25, 1816.

" In my last I promised to give you some account of the party at Monsieur de Neuville's,† the French Minister; but in truth it was so much like the great and splendid parties you have seen in Boston that it could afford you very little entertainment. The house was filled to overflowing with foreign ministers and their train, members of Congress, strangers of all descriptions, and the fashionables of the metropolis and vicinity. Cotillon parties in one room, cards in another, those who neither played nor danced in a third, and a supper-table in the fourth. Indeed there was all the crowd, bustle, confusion, and inconvenience which render such parties so *exceedingly pleasant* to the gay world. Mr. Madison (a thing very unusual) was there. The dress of some of the ladies was splendid and elegant, particularly that of Mrs. Bagot, the wife of the British Minister, who is niece of the Duke of Wellington, and a very handsome as well as pleasing woman. Madame de Neuville is a plain, unaffected, pleasant Frenchwoman, whose gayety is chastened by misfortunes and poverty during the Revolution; and she seems, as well as her husband, to have very little of the frivolity of manners for which *some French men* as well as women are peculiar.

" For a few days to come, very little business will probably be attended to, as the Christmas holidays are here generally devoted to amusement. I was strongly urged by my friend Goldsborough‡ to accompany him to Alexandria; but having engaged to dine to-day with Mr. Webster§ and Mason, who have their wives with them, I very readily excused myself. To-morrow all the gentlemen of our mess have engaged to dine with the President. Among the great and important objects to which our attention is called, a project is lately started for settling, with the free blacks which abound in the South and West, a colony, either on the coast of Africa, or in some remote region of our own country. It has excited great interest, and I am inclined to think that in the course of a few years it will be carried into effect. I enclose you an address which is in circulation here upon the subject. Agents are attending from different parts of the

* This letter gives a good idea of the difficulties of travelling little more than half a century ago. — L.

† Hyde de Neuville, for many years Minister of France at Washington. — L.

‡ Charles W. Goldsborough, sometime Governor of Maryland, and member of Congress from that State from 1805 to 1817. — L.

§ Daniel Webster, at this time member of Congress from New Hampshire. — L.

United States, soliciting Congress to take the subject up immediately, and I was this morning called upon by a Mr. Mills (a young clergyman who was at New Orleans with Smith), who is very zealously engaged in the work. He is an intelligent young man, and appears completely devoted to the great work of diffusing the blessings of Christianity to those who are now ignorant of it."

" *Wednesday, Feb. 5, 1817.*

"As the session draws to a close, our business becomes more and more pressing, and our time is more constantly occupied. You have heard so much about the inconsiderable speech I made upon the Compensation Bill that I shall really be ashamed to send it to you. It has not yet been published at length; for, as I did not speak until the debate had continued nearly a week, the speeches of all who preceded me must first be given. Whether therefore you will be presented with a fair specimen of what I said or not, I cannot say. But I know from the unpremeditated manner in which I addressed the House that the report of the remarks, made by an indifferent stenographer, will not and cannot possess the only quality which my remarks had to recommend them; to wit, that of being an off-hand answer, resulting from impulse, to a speech of Mr. Williams of North Carolina made the same morning.

"Our life is the most shabby and miserable in the world for comfort or health. We breakfast at about ten, then are detained at the House till nearly sundown, and our dinner is always protracted into candle-light, and of course during the fore part of the evening we are kept in the dining-room. I hope, however, this mode of living, so irregular and uncomfortable, will have no bad effect upon my habits. I have too melancholy an instance every day presented by a man of good talents and excellent heart who within three months has fallen into habits of intemperance which are rapidly leading him to ruin. Mr. Webster has just returned from Boston, where he has been to perform the melancholy duty of attending the funeral of a deceased child. He is at present in my room, and will probably remain with us through the session. He is a man of excellent mind and fine talents, and I shall be much gratified by this arrangement.

"Excuse this incoherent trash. It has been thrown together, with Webster at my table, and with the pressure of 'The mail will close' a half a dozen times repeated by him while writing it."

" *Wednesday Evening, Feb. 12, 1817.*

"Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, it being now past eleven, and notwithstanding the gay society I have just left, having this moment returned from Mrs. Madison's drawing-room, I cannot permit myself to lay my head upon my pillow without telling you how much I love you, and how infinitely I should prefer a rational evening with you to all the noise, and all the ceremony, and all the slander, and all the intrigue, political and moral, of a presidential

levee. This is only the second time I have been to the levee, and I should not have gone to-night, if it had not been for the circumstance of our having gone through the idle ceremony of counting the presidential votes to-day, and proclaiming Mr. Monroe as president-elect for the ensuing four years. Most of the gentlemen of our mess attended, and it was much the most gay and pleasant evening I have seen there. The crowd was very great, and there were more decent and well-behaved, as well as well-dressed, people there than usual. Two weeks more, and poor Mrs. Madison's drawing-room (as a place of public resort) will be forever deserted. Her sun is just descending below the horizon, and another rising in an opposite quarter of the heavens, around which all the secondary planets and satellites are to revolve in more or less eccentric orbits. Her retirement is, however, with the inhabitants of this place, and her acquaintance in general, viewed with emotions of regret and sorrow; and, from all I can hear of her character, I believe they have good reason for these emotions. Indeed, I think her charitable, benevolent, and affable; and it is said her liberality to the indigent and unfortunate is unprecedented in this part of the country. In the midst of the crowd to-night, I found myself thrown into a coterie of ladies, none of whom I knew, who were lamenting, and as I thought sincerely, her approaching retirement; and recounting to each other instances that had come within their own knowledge of her kindness and munificence. From her successor, I believe, neither the fashionable world nor the suffering poor have much to expect. But enough of this."

"Friday, Feb. 28, 1817.

"I am writing this in the midst of the noise and eloquence and logic and wit which so much distinguish our debates, and, of course, have neither silence nor privacy to aid me. Our business is exceedingly pressing, and our time wholly occupied in the House. With the gayety and amusements of the city I have very little to do. I attended, on Wednesday evening, the farewell levee of Mrs. Madison. Her rooms were exceedingly crowded, and with *better-dressed* and more genteel people than usual,—furnishing no small evidence of approbation for her past conduct, and regret at her retirement. Indeed, she has rendered herself, by her affability and her benevolence, much beloved by those by whom she is more immediately surrounded. God only knows the heart; and it is not for weak and fallible mortals to pry into motives, or scrutinize with severity, or condemn with censure, the principles and views of those whose external conduct is correct. But the noise with which I am surrounded prevents my continuing to weary you further."

(No date.) Winter of 1817-18.

"On Saturday last commenced my appearance in the gay world here. I dined at Mr. Adams's, in company with the Vice-President, the judges of the Supreme Court, and a few gentlemen of the bar:

Mr. Otis, Mr. Harper, Mr. Hopkinson, Sergeant, and George,* — a very select and a very pleasant party. I had no opportunity, however, of saying a single word to Mrs. Adams. Indeed, the habit which prevails here, of never introducing any one, has such an effect upon a man of my *modesty* as to preclude all attempts at acquaintance. I regretted not being able to speak to Mrs. A., as it is probable, from the manner of my life, and the style in which they live, I shall not have another opportunity of seeing her during my stay here. In the evening I went to Madame de Neuville's. A vast concourse of people, assembled without any definite object, attempting to make themselves agreeable, and making great efforts to be happy. This being the season of Lent, and Madame de N. being a strict Catholic, she remained in her drawing-room, surrounded by the most staid and sedate portion of her visitors. In another room, cards were introduced; and in a third, the young and the gay were tripping it lightly to the 'pipe and the tabor,' while groups of belles and beaux were crowded in every corner, and occupied every inch of the floor in the three apartments. As Webster, George, and myself went together, we were disconnected from every party, and had nothing to do but to gaze upon the scene before us. Heartless and unsatisfactory indeed did I find it, and I can safely say that I should derive more solid and sincere happiness from a single moment in the bosom of my family, than whole ages spent in this unfeeling and vapid intercourse. You inquire what I think of Mr. Wirt. I have only seen him in public, and can give you no information, except what is derived from information and a very slight observation. His habits are now, and for several years have been, perfectly correct. He is, indeed, one of the first men in the nation as a lawyer and an orator; as an author, his 'British Spy' does him great credit; but his recent 'Life of Patrick Henry' has not served to advance his reputation. He is now Attorney-General of the United States, and gives universal satisfaction, I believe, in that office. From his physiognomy and manners, I should think him a man of an amiable temper and kind affections; but of this I know nothing.

"The business of Congress begins to press heavily upon us, and I begin to find myself involuntarily engaged in its management. If I had only a little more impudence, industry, and ambition, I have no doubt I could make no inconsiderable figure among the great men with whom I am associated. But I love home and *you* too well to make the necessary sacrifice for public distinction."

"Feb. 20, 1818.

"I intend, by and by, to make an effort to see some of the fashionable people here, so that I may have it in my power, on my return, to talk about them with some *appearance* of acquaintance. To-morrow

* George Blake, the brother of Mrs. Mills. He was a prominent Boston lawyer and politician, for many years United States District Attorney, and an intimate friend of Mr. Webster. — L.

I am engaged to dine with Mr. Adams. The severe cold I have been afflicted with has almost left me, and I think I can venture out with safety. I yesterday made my first effort at a speech,* and found I had a tolerable use of my voice. I gave better satisfaction *to myself* than I ever have done, and I am assured by my friends that *they* were much gratified. George was in the gallery, and I found, to say the least of it, that he was neither mortified nor disappointed. Do not mistake me, my dear Harriette, it is not vanity that prompts me to say these things to *you*, but because I know that you are interested in every thing that relates to your husband, and feel a sincere pleasure in any successful effort he may make in a good cause. The speech was upon the Bankrupt Bill, and, of course, was more argumentative than declamatory. I will send you the paper when it comes out. I promised some time ago to give you some account of the great men of the present Congress, but I begin to despair of finding them. There are a good many men of handsome talents enough, but none, among the new members, of a high and commanding character. The places of Gaston and Grosvenor and Webster and Hulbert and Calhoun are not supplied by those who have succeeded them; and the debates of the present session are, of course, less interesting and animated, though not less protracted."

" Wednesday, Dec. 30, 1818.

"I returned from a visit to Mr. Hanson this morning, and had the pleasure of finding your kind and affectionate letter of the 22d waiting my arrival. We had a most delightful and pleasant excursion to Mr. H.'s. He lives about twenty-eight miles from this, and nine miles from the road leading to Baltimore. We left here on Thursday at twelve o'clock; the party consisted of Mr. Mercer and Colston of Virginia, Johnson of Louisiana, and myself. On Friday, Mr. H. had a number of the gentlemen, planters in his vicinity, to dine with us, — living from three to fourteen miles distance from his house. Before dinner, however, we all went about eight miles to church, Hanson, Mercer, and Colston all being members of the Church of England. We had a very excellent and impressive sermon from a Mr. Wheaton, their stated minister; preached, however, to a congregation consisting of not more than thirty people, exclusive of our party. The subject was the birth of our Saviour, the change which this great event had wrought in a moral state of the world, the cause of joy and gratitude which it furnished to his followers, and the manner in which it should be commemorated by them. What this little flock wanted in numbers, they seemed to make up in devotion, for I have seldom seen a more attentive and, apparently, a more devout audience. On Saturday, we dined with Judge Hanson, a brother of our excellent host, where we met the same party. They live about four miles apart, being almost the nearest neighbors either of them has. The country around them is

* On February 19, in committee of the whole, Mr. Mills made a long and able speech, which occupies several pages of the *Annals of Congress* (15th Congr., vol. i., p. 954), on the establishment of a National Bankrupt Law. — L.

pleasant and fertile, laid off into large plantations, owned by men of wealth, and cultivated by slaves. The prospect from Mr. H.'s is beautiful, presenting an extent of neither hill nor plain, in our sense of the words, but of gentle swells, or what they call rolling lands, terminated on one side by the Chesapeake Bay, and on the other by the highlands of Virginia. It is now in a state of rapidly progressing improvement, occasioned by a change, produced within a very few years, of its former inhabitants for a much more moral and correct class who have succeeded them. This change is visible in the face of nature, as well as in the habits, manners, and pursuits of the inhabitants. On Sunday we were to have gone to Baltimore, a distance of ten miles, to church, and to dine with Dr. Alexander, a connection of Mr. H. Owing, however, to the state of the weather, and the health of Mr. H., we remained with him; and the church service was performed at his house by a young gentleman, who is preparing for the ministry, who resides in his family. On Monday we rode to Baltimore, dined at Dr. Alexander's with a large party invited to meet us, and returned in the evening to Mr. H.'s. We passed a delightful day with an intelligent, well-educated family, living in fine style, without any *fashionable airs* or display of extravagance. On Tuesday we were again over-persuaded to remain till after dinner, and did not arrive here until one o'clock to-day. As nothing of much consequence was transacted in our absence, I am heartily glad to have exchanged the solitary, selfish sort of life we lead here for a few days of rational enjoyment and friendly society. We shall probably do nothing till after New Year, as it is just announced that one of our body, a Mr. Mumford from North Carolina, died this evening. He was seized, five or six days ago, with a violent attack of the pleurisy, and it has terminated, as almost every such attack does here, fatally. I did not know him personally; but some anecdotes are in circulation respecting his conduct and conversation in his last illness, showing a total disregard for his future state, as well as a want of preparation to meet it. His funeral will be attended on Friday with all that idle pageantry and heartless ceremony which always occur here upon such an occasion. Heaven grant that my last sigh may be breathed in the atmosphere of friendship, and that the tear of affection and the sincerity of grief may be substituted for the solemn mockery which presides over the funeral obsequies of a man, ever so eminent, who is doomed to breathe his last at a distance from all those objects which the words of affection have bound around his heart. To-morrow evening I am engaged to Mrs. Adams, where I suppose I shall meet a large party, after which I will write you again."

"Feb. 16, 1819.

"For several days past I have been very much engaged in the business of the House, and have taken a more active part than I am accustomed to. We have had a most interesting and agitating debate upon the subject of prohibiting slavery in the territory west of the Mississippi, in which the slave-holding States have been arrayed against the

States where slavery is not tolerated. It is not necessary for me to state that I advocated the prohibition with all my force, and, I assure you it gives me great satisfaction to say, with success. The excitement, however, produced by this discussion is much greater than I have ever witnessed upon any occasion since I have been in Congress. The Southern and Western people here are so little accustomed to be in a minority that they cannot bear defeat with the same patience as those of us who almost every day experience it."

" March, 1819.

" Last evening a very brilliant ball was given by members of Congress and others to Mr. and Mrs. Bagot,* who expect soon to return to England. There were about one hundred and seventy subscribers, and nearly or quite as many ladies, besides invited guests. You know I have no talent at description; you cannot, therefore, expect of me to describe the appearance of the room, the dress of the ladies, the elegance of the supper-tables, nor any of those thousand minutiae which the nice discrimination of a more accurate observer would so easily discern. In truth, I seldom attempt to analyze my feelings; and if I am pleased or displeased with the society or scenery around me, I do not attempt to account for it by examining too much in detail the individual objects or circumstances which produce such emotions. I can only, therefore, tell you, that the party was very large and brilliant, that everybody appeared in spirits, and genuine gayety for a moment seemed to predominate over the formality which usually prevails in their parties here. The ball was opened by Mrs. Bagot with *Yankee Doodle* in a country-dance, and, after a variety of cotillions, ended in a Scotch reel. I did not venture to sport my figure upon the floor excepting in a country-dance with the Mrs. Schuyler whom I have formerly mentioned to you, and who, I assure you, is an excellent and very correct woman. The room was hung with festoons and semicircles of flowers and variegated lights, and emblematical figures and inscriptions in honor of the occasion. The supper-table was elegant, and superbly decorated. After supper Mr. Bagot, in a short but very neat and appropriate address, expressed his gratitude for all the kind civilities he had received in this country, and particularly for this last expression of good will; and concluded by the best wishes of himself and wife for the future happiness of each individual present. To this very appropriate address *no response* was made, excepting drinking the health of Mr. and Mrs. Bagot, and *God save the King* by the band. But I am fatiguing you with nonsense."

" PHILADELPHIA, March 5, 1819.

" I have just arrived thus far on my way home, with the utmost anxiety to continue my journey without delay; but I find it is impossible to get a conveyance from here until to-morrow at two o'clock,

* Hon. Charles Bagot, brother of Lord Bagot. Mrs. Bagot was the daughter of William Wellesley Pole, brother of the Duke of Wellington. See *Diary of J. Q. Adams*, vol. iv. p. 339. — L.

the early stages being engaged. I left Washington yesterday morning, and, by travelling all night, arrived here at eleven o'clock to-day. We had a most dreadful ride through the night, the roads for a part of the way being in a most horrid state. Our stage was crowded with twelve passengers, and three times in the course of the night we were obliged to unload for fear of turning over. One of our passengers, Mr. Hall, of Delaware, finding, as he supposed, the stage upsetting, leaped from the carriage, and in his fall dislocated his shoulder, and was obliged to stop at the first miserable inn, where he will probably be detained for some time. The stage man, however, succeeded in stopping his horses so as to prevent the catastrophe which was apprehended, and the rest of us were providentially preserved from injury. On my way to Baltimore I met my friend Hanson's carriage, which he had sent for the express purpose of bringing me to his house. I had determined upon going to see him, under a full conviction that it would be the only opportunity I should ever have of meeting him on this side the grave. I found, however, at the inn, *Miss Sarah Whitney*, whom Mr. Calvert had brought there for the purpose of putting her under my protection to return to her friends, so that I was obliged to give up this visit which I had so much at heart. I now hope to have a passage by steamboat most of the way to New Haven, and shall probably be with you as early as Thursday next. Mr. Webster and Mr. Allen are with me here; the latter will accompany me through my journey, and the former probably as far as New Haven. Our last days were very busy ones; and I assure you, notwithstanding my great anxiety to devote myself in future to my family and profession, it gave me no little pain to part with a few friends in Washington, probably forever. Mr. Goldsborough and Colston* are men whom you would be delighted to know; and as to Hanson, his situation as well as his worth is sufficient to interest any one in his behalf."

"BOSTON, June 5, 1820.

"You have probably learned by the papers the honor conferred on me by the House.† I do not believe (though I dare say you will) that I feel unduly elated by this mark of distinction, though I confess the unanimity of the choice was highly gratifying to my feelings. We have not yet done much public business, the time having been principally occupied in organizing the government, and in those ceremonies and exhibitions which are so dear to Boston people. This part of my duty is, I assure you, extremely irksome to me, as I prefer very much (and am much better calculated for) the labors of my new station to the show and display, ceremonies and etiquette, attending it."

"WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Dec. 12, 1820.

"I have been so occupied for the last four or five days that I have scarcely had a moment's leisure. The question on the admission of

* Edward Colston, Representative from Virginia from 1817 to 1819. — L.

† His election as Speaker of House of Representatives. — L.

Missouri has occupied the Senate* for the last week, and so much interest has been excited that our whole time, day and night, has been devoted to it. The question, however, is now settled in our House, and it is determined by a majority of eight that Missouri, with all her sins upon her, shall be admitted into the Union as a sister State. We have still strong hopes that this resolution will be rejected in the House of Representatives. This, however, is by no means certain. The debate in the Senate has been managed with great moderation, though, I confess, with much less ability than I had expected. In respect to talents in debate, I think our body, *as a body*, is very inferior to the other House. This remark, though somewhat treasonable, has been forced upon me by the experience of a week only, and I may find cause to change my opinion upon further observation. However, we make up in *dignity* what we want in talent. I beg you to consider these remarks as applicable to the *body* only. There are individuals in the Senate who are second to no men in the nation, but they seldom engage in debate. Upon this great question I have, somewhat reluctantly, I confess, given a silent vote; but I concluded, upon the whole, I would in the outset have the appearance, at least, of some humility."

" Sunday, Dec. 24, 1820.

" On Tuesday evening I went to Mrs. Adams's, where I found forty or fifty people of different sexes collected from all parts of the Union, and crammed into a little room just large enough to contain them when standing up in groups. I went about half-past eight, made a bow to Mrs. Adams, had a few minutes' conversation with her husband, drank a cup of tea, conversed an hour with whomsoever I could find in the crowd, took some ice-cream, and returned home about ten o'clock; and a more unsocial and dissonant party I have seldom been in, even in this wilderness of a city. On Thursday I dined at the same house, and as the party consisted mostly of people with whom I am well acquainted, I passed the time very pleasantly. I went with Mr. King† in his own carriage. We dined about half-past six, and came away at nine. Mrs. Adams is, on the whole, a very pleasant and agreeable woman; but the Secretary has no talent to entertain a mixed company, either by conversation or manners. He is, however, growing more popular, and, if he conducts with ordinary prudence, may be our next president. I have not yet been to any other parties, nor do I feel any inclination so to do."

" December, 1820.

" I have not yet been here long enough to give you any account, from *personal observation*, of the society and amusements of the metropolis; but as there is no great probability, let my stay be ever so long, of my mingling enough in them to enable me to gratify your

* Mr. Mills was now a Senator. — L.

† Rufus King, at this time Senator from New York. — L.

curiosity by what I see myself, I fear your information upon these *all-important* subjects must remain, after all, somewhat limited. The drawing-room of Mrs. Monroe is open but once a fortnight. To make up in some degree for the *infrequency* of Mrs. Monroe's parties, Mrs. Bagot and Mrs. de Neuville have open rooms each one evening in the week, the former on Monday and the latter on Saturday. At the British Minister's the amusements are such as you usually find in such parties, — conversation, music, and cards. At the French Minister's dancing is almost always superadded. These are spoken of as much more pleasant, though not more elegant, than Mrs. Bagot's, and are very constantly and *crowdedly* attended. Even our staid and sober New England ladies, it is said, almost always show themselves at these Saturday evening parties, and readily 'join the jocund dance' on what they have been educated to consider as holy time. These public meetings, together with select parties more or less every week, enable the fashionable visitors here to kill time as effectually as they can wish. I have been nowhere, not even to call on the President; this I shall do, however, on Monday. But although I have neglected this mark of respect, I have received to-day an invitation to dine with him on Friday next."

"*Saturday Evening*, Jan. 6, 1821.

"Yesterday I had the *honor* of dining with the President, if honor it may be called. I am sure it had very little else to recommend it. He gives a dinner once a week, on Friday, to members of Congress and others. His parties are selected without taste or judgment or any reference to the associations or friendships which exist among his guests. Indeed, the only object seems to be to get through what is evidently a severe task, of giving all a dinner in their proper turn. Mrs. Monroe does not appear at the dinner parties this year at all, to the no little mortification and disappointment of the few ladies who are here with their husbands, and who are thus deprived of the honor of sitting at her table. In the evening, there was a very large and brilliant party at Mr. Gales's, the editor of the '*Intelligencer*,' consisting of at least five hundred persons, filling five rooms above and below stairs. In two there was dancing, and in one a supper table, where most of the guests resorted in the course of the evening. I went with Mr. Otis,* and stayed about an hour, merely to see the exhibition, which, after all, was neither more nor less than a genteel mob. I feel no more inclination for such parties than you do, and I never go excepting when I think I am required to do so by the rules of civility. They are as heartless as they are fatiguing."

"*Tuesday*, Jan. 16, 1821.

"My time is every moment employed. I have risen by sunrise almost every morning. It takes me about an hour in my warm room to dress. I then breakfast, look over the papers upon which we are to

* Harrison Gray Otis, Mr. Mills's colleague in the Senate — L.

be employed during the day, go to the Senate chamber, where we are kept till about half-past four, come home, and get through dinner so as to leave the table about seven. In the evening we resort to no amusement excepting that of conversation and discussing over again the proceedings of the day. Since I wrote you last, I have dined with Mr. Poletica, the Russian Envoy. He lives in great style, and gave us a most splendid dinner. One advantage, at least, is enjoyed by the Senators here, which is not extended to the Representatives. They are much more attended to, and take precedence in all parties. Of course they are brought more in immediate contact with all the grand dignitaries here. There were no ladies at table, and it is somewhat extraordinary that of all the foreign ministers resident here not one of them has a wife, or any females but servants in their families. Mrs. Adams keeps up her weekly parties every Tuesday evening, but although I have a *general* invitation for every evening I have been there but once. The fatigue and toil and ceremony of these parties quite outbalance all the allurements they have for so old and cynical a fellow as I am."

"Sunday, Jan. 21, 1821.

"I intended to have devoted this day to writing letters to you and all the children, but the arrival of my old friend Colston from Virginia last evening has prevented. Not that I have been the whole time engaged with him, but he persuaded me to go to church all day, which deprived me of the only time I could have had for that purpose, and he has been in my room most of the time we were out of church. We had a very fine sermon in the morning from Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut, upon the vanity of all worldly honors, distinctions, and pursuits, — very chaste, neat, and impressive, but his manner, though I think very fine, was not sufficiently impassioned for the Virginia taste. The most popular preachers here are those whose manner I dislike most, — your violent declaimers and extemporaneous exhorters, — those who appeal to the passions without any thing like system or method in the management of their subject. Colston, who is a very zealous and orthodox Christian, has recently returned from Kentucky, and gives a most terrible picture of the moral state of society in most of their great towns. As to the Transylvania University, over which Mr. Holley* presides, he speaks of it as destitute of all restraint and discipline, and a nursery of vice and profligacy. Some allowances are undoubtedly to be made for his prejudices, but aside from the peculiar tenets of Holley, I have no doubt the institution is in a most deplorable state, and is losing reputation as fast as it acquired it upon his accession to the presidency. I went last night to a large party, — a wedding visit to Dr. Worthington's. His only daughter, a younger sister of the late Mrs. Gaston, is married to a Mr. Pierson, formerly a member of Congress from North Carolina, a widower of about forty-five, and a man of good talents and immense wealth. The house was crowded as full as it could be, and the party was very gay."

* Rev. Horace Holley, who went there from Massachusetts. — L.

January or February, 1819.

"Yesterday I dined with the French Minister in a party consisting of about twenty or twenty-five, mostly members of Congress. The dinner was in true French style, every thing so disguised and transformed that no one knew what to ask for, or what was before him, — whether ham or jelly, mutton chop or pudding, no one could tell until he had put his knife into the dish. The first course consisted almost entirely of cold meats, in various forms, pickled, hashed, and minced, as well as whole. Turkeys without bones, and puddings in the form of fowls, fresh cod disguised like a salad, and celery like oysters, all served to excite the wonder and amazement of the guests. It reminded me of an anecdote told by Horace Walpole when giving an account of a dinner of a great man at which he was present; he said, 'Every thing was cold but the water, and every thing was sour but the vinegar.' Excepting, however, the perplexity of finding out what was upon the table, I had a very pleasant time. Mr. and Mrs. de Neuville are decidedly the most pleasant and the most popular of the foreigners residing here. Pleasant and affable in their deportment, they take great pains to please, and to avoid the ceremony and cold politeness which distinguish almost all the intercourse which takes place here. Although of a frivolous nation, they both seem very considerate and sufficiently grave, and have much less of frivolity than the other ministers resident here. Their kindness seems unaffected, and their piety, it is said, is equally so. In the evening there was an immense crowd of ladies and gentlemen, their house being open for that purpose every Saturday evening. The usual insipid interchange of idle questions and needless replies, gazing, lounging, card-playing, and dancing occupied the various groups, as fancy or caprice might dictate, and the evening closed with a waltz by the daughters of the Spanish Minister, and a few others, mostly foreigners. The death of the Queen of England has kept Mr. and Mrs. Bagot out of society for the last fortnight, and thrown all the foreign ministers and families into a mourning dress. The *intensity of their grief* has, however, almost worn off, when amends will be made, I presume, for this temporary seclusion. I dined too, the other day, at the President's; had a much more pleasant and less reserved intercourse than I had ever witnessed when Madison was President. Mrs. Hull, the wife of the Commodore, who is now in the city, is said to be the reigning beauty here. If you have seen her, therefore, you may be able to form some idea of the others. She is not a beauty; to my taste too insipid and too much like wax-work. But I did not intend to fill this whole letter with nonsense, and will stop."

"Saturday, Dec. 29, 1821.

"We had, however, a very pleasant time at dinner on Christmas. Mr. Randolph was peculiarly pleasant. Mr. Sparks, you know, is chaplain of the House of Representatives. I asked Randolph how he liked his sermon on Sunday. 'Miserable, miserable stuff,' said he. '*Works, works* are to save us! He might as well discard a Saviour altogether, for by his doctrine we needed none. Sir, it is as bad as the

old doctrine of the Catholics, who believed that a man could by works *more* than earn salvation (supererogation), and that the balance of his goodness should be carried to the account of some other *poor devil*, who fell short of the requisite quantity, &c."

"Tuesday, Jan. 15, 1822.

"On Saturday last our family all dined at the French Minister's, where we had a very pleasant as well as splendid party. I, however, forbore offering my services to help any one, for in the French fashion of dishing up a dinner, it is impossible to know whether the dish before you is *ham* or *sponge cake*, *pudding*, *fish*, or *salad*. In the evening her rooms were crowded, and there were as usual dancing and other amusements in all parts of the house. Here for the first time I became acquainted with Mrs. Jonathan Russell. She seems to me to be fantastical in nothing but her dress and appearance. I sat by her for some time, and I really found that she conversed with great good sense and propriety. There was also there a Miss Randolph from Virginia, daughter of the Governor of that State, and granddaughter of Mr. Jefferson. She is a great favorite with the Southern gentlemen, but not at all with the ladies from any quarter. She affects a great superiority of intellect and information, and really possesses both, but is arrogant in her manners, declamatory in her style of conversation, and *claims*, as of right, admiration from all around her. On Thursday evening there is to be a party and ball at Mrs. Brown's, where I have engaged to go, so that you see I am endeavoring to avoid, what you think to be so injurious to me, the stupidity of solitude. On Saturday next I go by invitation with my friend Mr. Mercer* to Mount Vernon to spend Sunday with Judge Washington. I confess I do not anticipate much pleasure from the visit, for his domestic situation is said to be peculiar and most unpleasant; of this, however, I will give you some account on my return.

"As to the gossip of this great metropolis, Heaven forgive me, I know little of it, and should not be able to describe it if I did. I have no talent for that species of detail, and as I know it would not afford you any gratification, Mrs. Ashmun must excuse me for not attempting it for her amusement. In one respect the intercourse of society here has much improved; I mean so far as relates to members of Congress. Formerly they saw little of each other except in Congress Hall, or casually at great routs. It is now very common to have small dinner parties at each other's *messes*, in which they become more intimately acquainted, by the free and unrestrained interchange of opinions and sentiments. This, as you will easily perceive, increases the expense of living, but adds both to the respectability and pleasure of our establishments. Our Massachusetts people, and I among the number, have grown great favorites with Mr. Randolph. He has invited me to dine with him twice, and he has dined with us as often. He is now what

* Charles Fenton Mercer, member of Congress from Virginia from 1817 to 1840.—L.

he used to be in his best days, — in good spirits, with fine manners and the most fascinating conversation. I would give more to have you see *him* than any man now living on the earth; not because I think more highly of him than of most of my acquaintances here, but from his peculiarities and the entire originality of his character. For the last two years he has been in a state of great perturbation, and has indulged himself in the ebullitions of littleness and acerbity, in which he exceeds almost any man living. He is now in better humor, and is capable of making himself exceedingly interesting and agreeable. How long this state of feelings may continue, may depend upon accident or caprice. He is, therefore, not a desirable inmate or a safe friend, but under proper restrictions a most entertaining and instructive companion. As to business in our *august* body, I can say but little. I am tired, heartily tired of hearing every day premeditated orations from men of ordinary capacity and less acquirements, made for the mere purpose of showing their constituents that they can *make a speech*. I have been busy in carrying into effect measures which I deemed useful, without mingling much in the debates. Next week we shall have some constitutional questions before us, in which I suppose I shall be obliged to take a part. Having been so constantly engaged for several months before I left home in discussions of one kind and another, I have been glad, to tell the truth, to hold my peace for a short time."

"Tuesday, Jan. 22, 1822.

"In my last I informed you of some of my engagements and arrangements for the week. On Tuesday evening last I went with our family to Mrs. Brown's, where we had a party of about three hundred people. A suite of apartments, consisting of five rooms all connected together, was thrown open, where there were dancing, whist, conversation, and supper. The rooms were all crowded, and the party was very brilliant, and said to be very pleasant. Now, I do no more than the honest truth, to tell you that I do not enjoy such parties, notwithstanding the assemblage of beauty and fashion they contain. Mr. Brown is a member of the Senate from Louisiana; a man of overgrown fortune, and disposed to spend it liberally. Mrs. B. is a woman of fashion, vain, superficial, and far from beautiful, but disposed to make her parties as agreeable as possible, which she can only do by making a great display. She is about forty-five years old, without children, and having no pursuit but the pleasures of society. On Saturday morning early I started with Mr. Mercer, Mr. Van Buren, and Mr. Garnett* for Mount Vernon, and arrived at Judge Washington's before dinner. Here we found a number of gentlemen from Alexandria, who, in the true old Virginia style, stayed till the next day. We remained till Monday, and I was much gratified with my visit. They live so retired from the world that a visit of this kind affords to *him*, who is very fond of society, much gratification. Mrs.

* Robert S. Garnett, member of Congress from Virginia, from 1817 to 1827.
—L.

Washington we did not see. She is, or pretends to be, an invalid, and sees nobody, not even the ladies who occasionally visit there, nor her most intimate, or rather nearest, relations. She confines herself entirely to her chamber, has an excellent appetite, is in high flesh, and employs herself in reading novels and works of taste and imagination. It is said she is a woman of strong feelings, great *passion*, and correct moral sentiments, but that she has taken a strong disgust to society, and hates the face of everybody but her husband. He is a most mild, amiable, and pleasant man, of the utmost simplicity and purity of manners and morals, of good talents, and considerable industry. His form and appearance are very diminutive and effeminate. His face, like Randolph's, is that of an old woman, and he has neither *beard* nor *children*. The situation of the place is the most delightful that can be conceived; but the buildings, grounds, and every thing around them seem to be in a state of dilapidation and ruin. There are fine gardens laid out by General Washington, two noble greenhouses filled with shrubs and plants, into which Mrs. W. never enters, and where the Judge says he does not go more than once a month. Still, they are kept in pretty good order, and his table is furnished from them with a great profusion of as fine oranges as any I have ever seen. On the whole, the visit was to me very pleasant and delightful. This evening there is a drawing-room at Mrs. Monroe's; but although I have not been this year, and although our ladies and some of our gentlemen are going, I cannot make myself up for the occasion. To-morrow I am to dine with the British Minister, Mr. Canning.* He is a plain, honest John Bull, without show or pretensions, and I am in hopes of a pleasant party."

"Saturday, Feb. 9, 1822.

"Since I left home I have not spent a day with so little satisfaction to myself as I have the greatest part of the present; and although I have no more reason to reproach myself than thousands who were engaged in the same manner, I can nevertheless assure you that I am not conscious of being guilty of any thing since I left you more reprehensible. Be not alarmed: there is not positive sin, excepting the waste of precious time. But although the scene has been unsatisfactory, to say the least of it, in the exhibition, it may be somewhat interesting in the description. For five or six weeks past there have been in the city about a dozen Indians, chiefs and warriors of the Pawnee and other tribes, from the utmost regions of the North-west. They had visited the President as their Great Father, taken a view of the Senate and House of Representatives, and been shown every thing which was calculated to impress them with an idea of our power, our wealth, and the arts of civilized life. Yesterday they took their formal leave of the President in set speeches, at the close of which they made him a present of skins, moccasins, wampum, &c., and received in return each a full suit of uniform clothing; and by way of gratifying the curiosity

* Stratford Canning, first cousin of George Canning, and afterward first Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe.—L.

of those who had treated them with so much hospitality, they have to-day exhibited themselves in their war dance. The exhibition commenced at twelve and continued till near four o'clock, in front of the President's house; and a more ridiculous piece of savage mummery was never witnessed by a Christian assembly. Three thousand people were congregated upon this occasion, of all sorts and degrees. The palace was filled from garret to cellar, and the immense crowd in front of the house prevented the possibility of seeing by those within. I was mounted on a table at one of the windows, so pressed and crowded that it was only by standing tiptoe that I could occasionally get a glimpse of the feats of the savage band. They were almost naked, — their faces, arms, and bodies painted in the most fantastic and capricious manner, according to their respective tastes, — and ornamented with feathers, belts, and trinkets. The music consisted of the rude thumping of an instrument like a drum, which was performed by the squaw of one of the chiefs, who was the only female of the party. Their movements were very regular, though rude and ungraceful, and their attitudes hideous and beastly, varying, however, with the character of the dance. In one of their dances they came round individually in front of the President, who was in the circle with them, and each recounted his exploits, and the deeds of death which he had committed, and which were translated by the interpreter. In this part of the exhibition I was more disappointed than in any other. There was none of the rude eloquence for which the savages have been celebrated, but a dull, monotonous, cold rehearsal of their savage murders. For instance, one said 'he met his enemy in the forest, caught him like a tiger in the face, threw him upon the earth, and despatched him with his tomahawk;' and in commemoration of that event he had painted on his face the figure of a hand. The principal chief boasted that he had killed eight of his foes with his war-club, and accompanied his declaration with eight separate strokes with his club upon the ground, making a savage yell at each blow. This chieftain was decorated with a curious head-dress composed of feathers and quills, which he could open and spread by some motion of his head, like the tail of a peacock. He had also appended in their proper place three tails of some animals, which he could also move at pleasure. And so they went through; one only acknowledging that he had never shed the blood of his fellow-man, and his rank, of course, was low among his brother savages. But I shall fatigue you with this recital as much as I feel myself fatigued by witnessing the ridiculous spectacle. Here, however, were assembled the great dignitaries of a Christian and civilized nation, and all the fashion and all the beauty of the metropolis, commingled with all that is low and vulgar and mobbish, in one confused and irregular mass. I escaped as soon as I could, and am thankful that I have got away in safety."

"Thursday, Feb. 28, 1822.

"You will see by the papers that death has again entered our body, and selected from it one of its brightest ornaments. Mr. William

Pinkney has been this day consigned to the house appointed for all the living. His sickness has been but short, and his death as unexpected as it is distressing to his family and friends. He was sick but a week. On Saturday he attended the Supreme Court, made a most splendid and able argument in a highly important cause, was seized on Sunday morning with an attack, somewhat apoplectic, in the head, loss of reason, and an inflammatory fever which terminated his life. I have often spoken of Mr. P., and believe I have formerly given you in writing a description of his style of eloquence. He was one of the most extraordinary men of this or any other country, and united more of the seeming inconsistencies and contrarieties of character than any man I ever knew. He was perhaps the greatest lawyer south of Philadelphia, — studious, indefatigable, and immensely laborious, and quite as ambitious of ornament as of profoundness. His style of speaking was more artificial than that of any man I ever saw off of the stage, and yet interesting in the highest degree. His arguments upon the most abstruse subjects were decorated with all the flowers of rhetoric which the most exuberant imagination could supply, and his speeches always attracted the attention and enchained the feelings of all who came within reach of his voice. In the Senate he has seldom taken a very active part, having confined himself of late principally to his profession. With all his greatness of mind and energy of intellect, he was in appearance the most consummate fop you ever saw, and with the experience, information, and varied knowledge of a studious man of sixty (which was about his age), he united all the dandyism of a young Bond Street loungee of eighteen. But he has gone to his great account, and has furnished another striking instance of the variety, the transient and evanescent nature of all human greatness, teaching us all what shadows we are and what shadows we pursue."

"Dec. 26, 1822.

"Since I last wrote you, I have been to a very brilliant evening party at Mr. Canning's, and am invited to dine there a week from to-day. The evening party was as pleasant as such crowded rooms can be, but the diplomatic dinners are, in general, too formal and ceremonious for much comfort. To-day I shall dine with the Secretary of the Navy; * Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd † and the Dickinsons ‡ are to be of the party and, I presume, a numerous host besides. But I have filled my letter with a great deal of frivolous matter, which, I fear, will be wholly uninteresting to you."

"Thursday, Jan. 2, 1823.

"Yesterday being New Year, there was no business done in Congress; and, notwithstanding it rained a torrent, the whole city, male

* Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey. — L.

† James Lloyd, of Boston, at this time Mr. Mills's colleague in the Senate.

— L.

‡ John D. Dickinson, member of Congress from Connecticut. — L.

and female, secretaries, ambassadors, members of Congress, public agents, and private citizens paid their devoirs at the palace, to present the inhabitants the 'compliments of the season,' — an unmeaning ceremony, but as sensible as many other ceremonious observances. As I was engaged to dine at five o'clock at Mr. Adams's, I went in the crowd to the President's to see the show. But I have so often described these scenes to you, and as a description of one conveys a very good idea of all the rest, I will not again undertake it. At Mr. Adams's I found a pleasant party and an excellent dinner, and returned home about eight o'clock, which was as soon as the dinner was over. Do not suppose that we spent the evening in the old-fashioned style of drinking and smoking. The latter is entirely banished from all genteel society, and the former conducted with great moderation. The French fashion, certainly much more rational, generally prevails. A few glasses of wine after the cloth is removed, and almost immediately upon the ladies retiring, the gentlemen follow to the drawing-room, where coffee is served."

(No date.) 1823 (?).

"I dined yesterday with Mr. Adams, in a large party of gentlemen only. He is scarcely talked of now as president, although last year his chance seemed to be better than any other candidate. A few days ago I dined, too, with Mr. Crawford, now, I think, the most prominent candidate. He is a hardy, bold, resolute man, with the *appearance* of great frankness and openness of character, unpolished and somewhat rude in his manners, and very far inferior to Mr. Adams in learning and attainments. He has, however, a strong, vigorous mind, and has made himself what he is by his own active efforts. His political course has been uniformly Democratic, and he is now considered at the head of those who are here termed radicals. Of Mr. Calhoun, another candidate, I will also give you some account. I know him well, and have always been upon terms of personal friendship with him. He was a member of Congress when I first came here, and is now Secretary of War. He is about the age of Mr. Bates, and was a classmate of his and Lyman. He came into Congress very young, and took a decided part in favor of the late war, and of all the measures connected with it. He is ardent, persevering, industrious, and temperate, of great activity and quickness of perception, and rapidity of utterance; as a politician, too theorizing, speculative, and metaphysical, — magnificent in his views of the powers and capacities of the government, and of the virtue, intelligence, and wisdom of the *people*. He is in favor of elevating, cherishing, and increasing all the institutions of the government, and of a vigorous and energetic administration of it. From his rapidity of thought, he is often wrong in his conclusions, and his theories are sometimes wild, extravagant, and impractical. He has always claimed to be, and is, of the Democratic party, but of a very different class from that of Crawford; more like Adams, and his schemes are sometimes denounced by his party as ultra-fanatical. His private character is estimable and exemplary,

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and his devotion to his official duties is regular and severe. But he is formidably opposed on the ground of his youth, his inexperience, his heterodoxy in politics, and his ambition. I have thus given you some account of those whose pretensions to the presidency are most prominent; enough, at least, to satisfy your neighbors that you are not altogether uninformed upon the subject. Of Mr. Lowndes I will say but a word. He is of the same school with Calhoun; an older man, of more general information, but of much less energy and activity. He is a man of fortune and of taste, but far from a great man in the powers of his intellect or attainments. After all, I doubt whether either of these early aspirants will succeed in their views, and I confess I should be glad to see a better man than either at the head of the government under which I live, and for which I entertain so much respect. Who he will be, or whether the fortunate individual will be better or worse than those I have named, is at present entirely uncertain. I have just run over what I have written on this sheet, and if it is not in the true style of a *politician* I am mistaken; for I think I may challenge even you to decide which I should vote for if obliged to choose from among them. This, however, is not intentional, for I intended to give you a just representation of their respective qualifications."

"Saturday, Jan. 25, 1823.

"The question who shall be the candidate for governor and lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, it seems, is settled in caucus. I confess I should have been quite as well pleased if they had agreed upon our neighbor, the sheriff, for the highest seat in the synagogue, as to place him where they have; and, I dare say, in this opinion I shall have the hearty concurrence of my friend, the sheriff,* and the *sheriff's wife*. Will she be willing to play a second fiddle to Mrs. Otis, or does she think she ought to be at the head of the orchestra? The election, I think, will be a warm one, and its result is somewhat doubtful. Mr. O. and Mr. L. were both members of the Hartford Convention, which, in the minds of some, is a deadly political sin. They are both open, avowed, and decided Unitarians, which, in the minds of others, is a fatal and dangerous religious heresy. But I assure you, though I think the candidates have much opposition to encounter, I most sincerely wish them success, and shall most cordially unite in their support. It is near five o'clock, and I am engaged to dine with my colleague, Mr. Lloyd, who, by the way, is much respected here, and not the less so, perhaps, for mingling so little in society. They live in a very snug and quiet manner within a few doors of me, and I have an opportunity of seeing them frequently. Mrs. Lloyd is much esteemed here. She is certainly a very ladylike and amiable woman, more prudent and discreet, but less talent and smartness, than Mrs. Otis. My

* Joseph S. Lyman of Northampton. The ticket was Otis and Lyman, and was defeated by the Democrats under William Eustis, the first governor for many years, and one of the few ever chosen by that party in the State. — L.

situation is much more pleasant in Senate with Mr. L. than it was with Mr. O. We more frequently agree in our opinions and votes ; and if we disagree, which seldom happens, it produces no unpleasant feelings or remarks."

" Saturday, Feb. 15, 1823.

"To-day the Senate have not been in session, and I thought this morning I should get time to write not only to you, but to the children also. But so difficult is it here to accomplish any thing, that I found that a few calls of business at the public offices had consumed the whole day. No one who has not visited here can have an idea of the inconveniences of this place for either business or pleasure ; and there is much practical truth in the seeming paradox of your brother George, who, in his emphatic style, said the other day : ' I hold it to be a well-established fact that there is no one place in Washington which is not at least two miles distant *from any other place.*'

"I am sorry, my dear Harriette, that the very incorrect and garbled report of my speech upon abolishing imprisonment for debt has fallen into your hands. It is in many respects exceedingly imperfect, and in some parts unintelligible. I can only say it did me no discredit in Senate, and I am in hopes you will soon see a more correct report of it in the 'National Intelligencer.' Most of the gentlemen here write out their speeches for publication ; but I have strong objections to that practice, aside from the labor which it imposes. It looks too much like taking pains to make one popular, and I am not conscious of ever doing that, your occasional accusations to the contrary notwithstanding. Indeed, I think I am quite too careless about it ; for the great efforts made by some very small men around me have produced a disgust to that course of proceeding which very often prevents me from taking any part in the discussions of the day. I am, however, well satisfied with my standing in Senate ; and if my name does not appear so often in the papers as some, and I make less noise at a distance, it affords me no mortification whatever."

" Jan. 9, 1824.

"You seem to fear that I am not well situated for the winter. I can assure you I was never better situated here. I have not, it is true, the social enjoyment resulting from a pleasant mess, but I have more time to attend to the business of Congress, and to the thousand other concerns which daily distract my attention. I shall probably live much more secluded from society than I did last year ; but I assure you I do not much regret the change. Advancing age, sober reflections, and the necessity of studying economy in my expenses, all contribute to reconcile me to a more recluse mode of life. I have, however, very good society near me, and such as would befriend me in any emergency. Henshaw is within a stone's-throw ; my friend Eaton * and General

* John Henry Eaton, at this time Senator from Tennessee. — L.

Jackson are very near; and several other members of Congress at the next door. I went last night, for the first time this season, to an evening party at Mr. Adams's. It was a party given, as you know, in honor of General Jackson. He was kind enough to insist on my going in a carriage with him. We arrived about eight o'clock, and such a crowd you never witnessed. Eight large rooms were open, and literally filled to overflowing. There must have been at least a thousand people there; and so far as Mrs. Adams was concerned, it certainly evinced a great deal of taste, elegance, and good sense. I wandered, or rather pushed my way, through all the rooms, gazed on the crowd, came round to the supper-room about half-past nine, and left there about ten. Many stayed till twelve and one. I am good for nothing to describe such a scene in detail; but it is the universal opinion that nothing has ever equalled this party here, either in brilliancy of preparation or elegance of the company."

" Jan. 22, 1824.

" And so then, my dear Harriette, you are tired of my dull epistles about myself, and my oft-repeated assurances of attachment and devotion, and my tedious details about our children, and really wish me, if not to *confine* myself to politics, at least to give you some information of the great questions that occupy us here. Well, be it so. I know I have neglected these things in my communications, but it has been because I thought you would take no interest in them. As to the approaching election of president, then. It is impossible to foretell the result, and we are all so much influenced by our feelings and wishes as to be very doubtful prophets. The character of Mr. Adams you know very well. He is unquestionably more learned, better educated, has a more thorough knowledge of our Constitution, our foreign relations, the history, theory, and practice of our government, than either of the other candidates. His supporters are principally in New England, some in New York, and some at the South and South-west. He has not, however, at present a majority in his favor, nor indeed has any other candidate. Mr. Crawford, perhaps, has more friends in Congress than any of them, though of all men he is the last I wish to see elected. He is coarse, rough, uneducated, of a pretty strong mind, a great intriguer, and determined to make himself president. He is at the head of what is called the *Radical* party,—a race of economists who are for curtailing all expenses, and belittling, if not destroying, all the important institutions of the country. His friends are endeavoring to get up a caucus of members of Congress for his nomination. In this I think they will succeed, though the caucus I do not believe will be attended by a majority of the members. According to present appearances, he has not a majority in his favor, either in Congress or among the people. General Jackson, in point of numbers, stands next. His great military services during the late war rendered him very popular at the West, and extended his fame through the country. But he was considered extremely rash and inconsiderate, tyrannical and despotic, in his principles. A personal acquaintance with him has

convinced many who held these opinions that they were unfounded. He is very mild and amiable in his disposition, of great benevolence, and his manners, though formed in the wilds of the West, exceedingly polished and polite. Everybody that knows him loves him, and he is exactly the man with whom *you* would be delighted. With a frame worn down, and a constitution almost destroyed by hardships, and a head gray with service rather than age, he has all the ardor and enthusiasm of youth, and is as free from guile as an infant. I had very strong prejudices against him, and opposed him most vehemently in Congress five years ago. Indeed, I considered him but little advanced in civilization above the savages with whom he was at war. But a personal acquaintance with him has dissipated all my prejudices; and although I still think he sometimes lost sight of the restraints of law and constitution, his motives were always pure and his object patriotic. One anecdote very creditable to him I had heard from Mr. Eaton, and a few days ago I made inquiry of the General, and had it confirmed from his own mouth. In 1813, when at war with the Creek Indians, after a battle in which the American arms had been successful, and there had been a great destruction of the poor Creeks, there was found upon the field of battle a little infant, a boy but a few weeks old. It seems his father had fallen in the conflict, and his mother too had been slain. The friendly Indians who were fighting on our side were for terminating at once the miseries of the little innocent, under the conviction that it would be impossible to preserve its life without more care than it was worth, and were actually upon the point of putting it to death when the General discovered their design, and immediately interfered for its preservation. With much difficulty he extricated the child from its cruel captors, took it into his own arms, and carried it to his tent. He took the personal charge of it for months, nourished and cherished it in the wilderness, and at the end of the campaign brought it home to his own house, took it into his family, and with great care and assiduity sustained it and reared it up in health. The little fellow is now ten years old. He yesterday showed me a letter from him, written very well, and the style as well as the chirography would do credit to either of our boys. He is determined to give him a good education, and if possible make him a useful man. But with all General Jackson's good and great qualities, I should be sorry to see him President of the United States. His early education was very deficient, and his modes of thinking and habits of life partake too much of war and military glory.

"Mr. Calhoun stands next on the list. He is a man about forty years old, regular and correct in all his habits, of good talents, well educated, but ardent and somewhat extravagant in some of his political sentiments, of great integrity, but I think stands at present no chance of success. Adams, Jackson, and Calhoun all think well of each other, and are united at least in one thing, — to wit, a most thorough dread and abhorrence of Crawford. Mr. Clay stands by himself, and, with many excellent qualities, would be more dangerous at the head of the government than either of the others. Ardent, bold, and adventurous

in all his theories, he would be, as is feared, rash in enterprise, and inconsiderate and regardless of consequences. His early education was exceedingly defective, and his morals have been not the most pure and correct. On the whole, judging from present appearances, I think there will be no choice of president by the electors, — in which case the election falls upon the House of Representatives. — and that Adams, Crawford, and Jackson will be the three highest candidates, out of which the choice will finally be made.* These speculations, however, are founded upon present appearances. What changes may happen before the election takes place it is not easy to foresee. I have thus given you my crude notions; but, in the genuine spirit of a politician, as you will say, I have not told *even you* who is my favorite candidate. That is of no consequence; nor do I (*entre nous*) feel any very strong convictions in favor of either. If you wish to turn politician, or even to converse intelligibly upon the presidential question, you must read at least the Constitution of the United States, and ascertain the mode of his election.

"The Greek question, so called, is now under discussion in the House of Representatives. Mr. Webster made a *great* though not a very *eloquent* speech upon the subject. Colonel Dwight† and a thousand others are following in the train. Whether it will find its way into the Senate is not yet determined. We are much more grave and dignified in our body than in the House, and declamation is hardly tolerated with us."

"WASHINGTON, Feb. 28, 1824.

"You must have misapprehended, my dear Harriette, some part of my letter in relation to Mr. Lathrop. I most heartily wish him success, and think him deserving of it. Still, I know full well the motives which induced his nomination, and the objects of those who promote it with us. First, Mr. Lathrop at present fills a place which our good brother Bates is very desirous of filling, and which he is certainly very well qualified to fill with advantage to the country and credit to himself. Secondly, Mr. Bates has a great deal of professional business, which, if he was sent to Congress, the young aspirants at the bar — Forbes, Ashmun, Clark, &c. — think they should share among them; and thus Lathrop, Bates, and myself being disposed of, they could cut and carve business and profits for themselves. But I have no idea of being disposed of in this way. Hence I say that if their plans in the election of Lathrop for governor, and Bates as his successor in Congress, should be successful, I should return home with a prospect of taking at least my share of professional labor and profit. This was all I meant, my dear wife, by my short hints in a former letter. I beg you not for a moment to think me so ungrateful as to repine at my own situation. My ambition, if I ever had any, has been

* This prediction was, as every one knows, exactly verified. — L.

† Henry W. Dwight, of Massachusetts, member of Congress from 1821 to 1831. — L.

more than gratified. I neither expect nor wish for any thing further. I have not sought the honors which have been so often undeservedly bestowed upon me; and Heaven knows I have never envied those who have been more fortunate in the attainment of wealth or honors."

"WASHINGTON, March 26, 1824.

"Enclosed I forward you a communication which I have just received, signed by all the Representatives of our State in Congress. In what manner precisely I shall answer it, I have not as yet determined. I must, however, get away, although I have no doubt my going will produce great complaint, both here and at home. I am not vain enough, I would not have you suppose, to believe that this request proceeds from an expectation of any great personal influence I may possess in the Senate. But there are some questions to be decided before the close of the session, and among them particularly the tariff, in which a single vote may of itself be of great consequence; and should it eventually happen that the great question so interesting to Massachusetts should be decided by a single vote in the Senate, I should expect never to be forgiven."

"Saturday Evening, April 3, 1824.

"Never in my life did I address you with more unmingled emotions of grief and regret. Notwithstanding my assurances to you in my letter of yesterday, that I should start for home to-day, I have been prevailed upon to remain, and how long, Heaven only knows. I had resisted the repeated importunities of my friends, and determined to go at all hazards, when last evening, after having got into a state of preparation, I was waited upon by our whole delegation from Massachusetts, who expressed to me their undivided opinion that I could not go without an inexcusable dereliction of duty. After much conversation, I agreed to postpone starting this morning, to call on Mr. King and another friend or two, to state to them the urgent necessity of my going, and to abide by their decision. This has been done, and they have decided that I cannot consistently with my public duty go at present. The principal reason which requires my remaining is the Tariff Bill. This bill is now in the House of Representatives, and will probably pass that House in the course of a week. The whole delegation from Massachusetts are opposed to it. According to the best calculations that can be made in the Senate, there will not be a single vote to spare; and if, under these circumstances, I should be gone, and the bill should pass for want of my vote, I should never forgive myself, nor should I ever be forgiven. I need not, I cannot, tell you how painful this decision is. My business in court, I know, must greatly suffer by it, and many of my clients must experience great disappointment. But to me, the disappointment which I shall experience, and that which you also, I know, will feel, inflict the keenest pain."

"WASHINGTON, April 10, 1824.

"On this day, my dear wife, I had fluttered myself and assured you that I should have the happiness of meeting and enjoying the society of those most dear to me. The causes which prevented, I have given you in my former letters. I do not now perceive that there is a prospect of getting away very soon. As soon, however, as the tariff is disposed of, I shall make my way home as speedily as possible. It still lags in the House of Representatives, and I am not without hope that it will meet its quietus there. The face of nature, as well as the calls of business and the solicitude of affection, admonishes me that it is time for me to be at home. The winter here has been exceedingly mild and open, but, the month of March having been cold and wet, the spring is more backward than usual. Peach-trees are just putting forth their blossoms, and those who have gardens are just getting in their seeds. But, although there are plenty of lands lying waste and uncultivated all over the city, few of the inhabitants have either industry or taste enough to convert them into fruitful fields. It is now more than a week since I have received any communication from Northampton, nor can I expect to for nearly a week to come; and as you have been so kind and attentive in favoring me with your letters lately, I assure you I feel their loss with the greatest sincerity. Letters from other quarters, however, and especially from Boston, I have had in abundance upon business and politics. I am very anxious to learn the result of our election of governor, and hope, with all my soul, that Mr. Lathrop may be chosen. I am sorry to see, by a Boston paper received yesterday, that an extract is given from a letter written by me, in perfect confidence, to Mr. Otis. I have received a letter from him explaining how it came to be published, which, though far short of a justification, furnishes some apology for such a breach of confidence. I did not intend to appear as a partisan before the public at this time, and, although there is nothing in the publication but what is strictly true, I regret, on many accounts, that it has seen the light under my name."

"Tuesday, April 20, 1824.

"The great question which now keeps me here, to wit, the Tariff Bill, has just got into our House, and will not be finally decided for a fortnight or three weeks yet to come. I cannot express to you the regret I feel at not being able to attend our court, for I am sensible I am in all respects more *at home* there than here. If you are inquired of as to the prospect of the tariff passing the Senate, I authorize you to say that I think it will pass by a majority of one or two. I know that many of my friends, in our part of the State, wish it to pass. But I believe it is because they do not understand its operation upon the great and essential interests of our part of the country. As it now stands, I shall certainly vote against it, though it may be so modified as to gain my support. I do not mention these things to you, my dear wife, because I suppose you take any interest in the subject yourself, but because I think you may be inquired of as to the fate of the bill, and as to the opinion of your husband in relation to it."

"WASHINGTON, April 28, 1824.

"I have this moment returned from the Senate, where we have had a long and labored debate upon the tariff, for the first time in our body. The discussion was commenced by myself, on a motion to strike out the additional duty on iron. I made a speech in support of my motion of about an hour, which, you may rest assured, was a pretty good one, although I shall not take the trouble of writing it out for publication. I cannot seek popularity in that way. The debate was continued through the day, and the motion finally prevailed by a majority of one vote. I do not, however, consider the question as settled, for the Vice-President still has a casting vote, and may prevent its success. If this motion should, at last, be confirmed in Senate, I shall consider the tariff as put to rest, and should hope to get away in the course of a week or ten days; otherways I shall be detained, Heaven only knows how long. I will say to you, and to you only, that, at a large meeting of friends belonging to the Senate, I had the honor of being selected to make this first assault upon this important bill, which so nearly divides both Houses of Congress, and the whole country."

"Sunday, Jan. 2, 1825.

"I have only time to write a single line or two before the mail closes. I have been all day engaged in reading and collecting letters of recommendation and applications for the office of postmaster, so unexpectedly vacated by the sudden death of my old friend, Daniel Wright. I will mention to you a few of the candidates, by which you will perceive the embarrassments in which I am placed. Mr. Jon^s. H. Lyman, Samuel Lyman, Mr. Forbes, Thos. Shepherd, Hunt Wright, Wm. Hutchens, Nathl. Fowle, Sim^s. Butler, Dr. Stebbins, Saml. Wells, and Heman Pomeroy,—all of them my personal friends, and all well qualified for the office. I shall, however, present all their claims fairly before the Postmaster-General, and let him decide upon them to-morrow. Many of them must be disappointed, and some of them probably will be offended. I beg you not to mention the name of Mr. Wells, as he wished it to be kept secret. We had, yesterday, our great congressional dinner for General Lafayette,—and a splendid one I assure you it was, as you will see in a day or two by the papers. Upwards of two hundred at three tables. I had no small share of the labor to perform, as usual; and if you see among the toasts, which we were obliged to guard with *politic* discretion, any that you think good, give me the credit, for I assure you I deserve it. Though the day was excessively stormy, every thing went off remarkably well."

"Wednesday, Feb. 16, 1825.

"You say my friends in Boston were anxious to learn my opinion upon the result of the presidential election. To tell the truth, I avoided writing upon that subject as much as possible. I knew how variable public opinion upon the subject was here. I knew, too, what the feelings, wishes, and anxieties that existed as to the success or

defeat of Mr. Adams were. I knew the spirit of speculation that prevailed in Boston, and I was determined that no man should be able to say that he had hazarded his money upon the strength of my opinion, and had sustained a loss by its fallacy. There is quite as much speculation and excitement here now as before the election. Who is to come into the cabinet, go on foreign missions, or obtain other and more subordinate places under the new dynasty, are the daily topics of conjecture and conversation. Of one thing you may rest assured, that, although there is a perfectly good understanding between the president-elect and myself, I have nothing to expect, nor would I ask any thing at his hands. If the election had gone otherwise, I might have stood on different ground.

I mentioned in my last that there were a great many Massachusetts people here. Since then I have seen Mr. and Mrs. Revere, and Mr. and Mrs. Derby. Indeed, the city is full of Yankees, come to witness the inauguration of our Yankee President. This same President of ours is a man that I can never court, nor be on very familiar terms with. There is a cold, repulsive atmosphere about him that is too chilling for my respiration, and I shall certainly keep at a distance from its influence. I wish him God speed in his administration, and am heartily disposed to lend him my feeble aid whenever he may need it in a correct course; but he cannot expect me to become his warm and devoted partisan. He wants heart and all those qualities which attract and attach people strongly to him. An *interested* support he will get from many, but a warm and hearty one from none."

"Friday, Feb. 18, 1825.

"In this evening's paper we have the very great and very sincere pleasure to present our readers the very able and admirable speech of Mr. Mills, of Massachusetts, on one of the most interesting and important subjects that has ever been discussed within the walls of Congress. Every sentence of this lucid and eloquent speech should, at the present time, be carefully and most attentively perused, for its principles are all in strict conformity to the established laws of nature and nations, and should as widely as possible be circulated throughout the country, in order that the whole community may entertain the same sound and correct views in relation to it. . . . Since the Senate have been gravely engaged in discussing the precise rules of law, so as cautiously to avoid trespassing upon the rights of the abettors of piracy, every civilian in that honorable body was rationally expected to enlist his best talents on the interesting occasion, and to bring forward openly the best fruits of his enlightened mind, for the purpose of informing and directing that honorable body in the best course to be pursued. Whatever others may have done, or not done, Mr. Mills has entitled himself to the thanks and applause of his fellow-citizens throughout the United States for the able and distinguished part he has boldly taken."

"You will excuse me, I know, my dear Harriette, for copying this extract from a New York paper, of the remarks of the editor on my

piracy speech. I have here no puffers, retainers, or hangers-on; and as this is a voluntary comment of an enlightened editor, I feel a gratification in communicating it to *you*. Indeed, if I know myself, I feel more gratification on your account than any other. I took no pains to procure the publication of the speech, nor have I written to any one upon the subject. I know very well the efforts that other people make here; but I desire to thank Heaven that I feel above the little arts so often practised to gain popularity. If I cannot command it by my *open* efforts to deserve it, I do not want it."

"WASHINGTON, Dec. 16, 1825.

"I enclose for your *information* (as we say when we send an important document to our constituents) a list of furniture in the President's house, taken in March, before Mr. Adams removed into it. You are not, however, to suppose that there is no more now, for, on account of the great deficiency, Congress appropriated, at the close of last session, fourteen thousand dollars more to furnish it decently. I was at the drawing-room last evening for about half an hour, and though well filled with fashionable and agreeable people, I was glad to retreat to my chamber and my business. Mrs. Adams is in very feeble health, and I think will fall a victim to the station she fills, or rather to the ambition of filling it *gracefully*."

"Friday, Dec. 23, 1825.

"I have been intending to write the girls, and some of my friends at home, but I really can find no time. I am on two standing, and two select, committees, all of which have a multiplicity of business before them; and, as I never shrink from my proportion, at least, of labor, I am kept very constantly occupied. I passed an hour to-day with the President, who, I found, was very gracious and friendly. He urged me, when coming away, to call often — spend an evening; and added that they dined every day at five o'clock, and that it would give him great pleasure if I would come any day, and as often as I could, *sans cérémonie*, and dine with him *en famille*. So much for my standing at court. Don't set this narration down to my vanity, for I tell it you only to afford you gratification, or to afford you an opportunity to laugh at me, as you please; but I tell it to no one else. With no strong personal attachment to Mr. Adams, I have found myself compelled, by a sense of duty, to support his measures in most instances, and I am not sorry to find that he appreciates my poor services as he ought. I had promised Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Eaton to go to Baltimore with them to-morrow, and keep Christmas, but I find it will be impossible, and have sent them word accordingly. Though much alone, I am not idle.

"A fire broke out in the library of the Capitol last night, and the whole building narrowly escaped destruction. It was subdued, however, after the destruction of a great number of books, — not, indeed, the most valuable, — and the ruin of the most beautiful and tasteful apartment in the Capitol. As I am two miles from the scene, fortunately, my slumbers were not broken by the alarm."

"WASHINGTON, Feb. 8, 1826.

"I am called here an Administration man, and am on the most intimate terms at the palace. I called on the President the other evening, and while alone with him in his cabinet, the servant announced supper. I went with him to the supper-room, where we found Mrs. A. and her two nieces, and had a supper of roast oysters in the shell, opening them ourselves, which of course was not a very pleasant or *cleanly* process; but with whiskey and water with supper, and a little hot punch after it, we had quite a frolic. He meets with a most formidable and virulent opposition, especially in Senate, and it is no small task, I assure you, to overcome it. The session is getting to be more stormy and unpleasant than any I have known since I have been in Senate, and I fear will be growing more and more so. But I know you have no taste for accounts of political squabbles. I will not, therefore, bore you with them. I have been to no evening parties for some time. I am going to-night to the drawing-room with William Lee, to present him to the President. It is to me a very dull scene, and I usually pass my time there in political conversation with some few in a corner."

"WASHINGTON, Feb. 26, 1826.

"For the last week the Senate have been in secret session every day till five or six o'clock, and by the time we get home and dine, the evening is worn away. But I will not trouble you with my perplexities. I know you have enough of your own. Mr. Gaillard,* of whose sickness I believe I have informed you, is probably by this time removed from his earthly sufferings. I heard, an hour or two ago, that they expected every moment he would breathe his last. He is two miles from me, and I have not since heard whether he is dead or alive. Mr. McIlvaine, a member of the Senate, from New Jersey, and Mr. Southard, the Secretary of the Navy, are also both very sick, the former dangerously."

"WASHINGTON, Feb. 27, 1826.

"We are now assembling in the Senate chamber to pay our last tribute of respect to Mr. Gaillard of South Carolina, late one of our members. He has been, without interruption, a member of this body for twenty-one years, and President of the Senate, *pro tem.*, for the last fourteen years. He was a man of great urbanity of manners, equanimity of temper, and moderation of feeling. In point of talents, undistinguished, and indeed almost insignificant; and furnishing a striking proof how much our success in life, and our posthumous fame, depend upon trivial circumstances. He was originally brought into public notice, and elevated to preside over the Senate, merely because he was obnoxious to no personal or party objection. His course has been smooth and unruffled; and while he has left no memorial of his usefulness or his talents, the *records* of the

* John Gaillard, Senator from South Carolina, from 1804 until his death in 1826. — L.

government will hold him up to all future ages as holding, for a long time, one of its highest and most distinguished offices. I believe he has left no family. His wife died many years ago. Of his private character I know but little, though, in some respects, it is said not to have been governed by the strictest morality. But he is gone; and peace to his ashes!"

"WASHINGTON, March 10, 1826.

"It is now a week since I have been able to attend to any serious occupation, having been during that time under the operation of what I suppose must be called the influenza, although it has with me been attended with none of the ordinary symptoms of a cold. I have, however, been two or three times to the Senate; and am now, thank Heaven, convalescent. I was seized with a most excruciating pain in the head, a little stricture across the breast, attended with some fever, and a total prostration of strength, and an entire incapacity for thought or action. Mr. Randolph, who, among all his caprices and eccentricities, has lately taken a great liking to me, although we are opposed upon all public matters, perceiving the first symptoms of my attack, came to me and offered his services and his medical skill, — to which, you know, I make no pretensions. I was about sending for a physician, against which he most solemnly protested, unless I preferred being murdered to dying a natural death, — adding that as sure as I put myself under the care of a Washington doctor, I should be 'food for worms' in three weeks. He therefore undertook to prescribe for me. I have followed his directions and am nearly restored. He now lives within a few doors of me, and has called almost every evening and morning to see me. This has been very kind in him, but is no earnest of continued friendship. In his likings and dislikings, as in every thing else, he is the most eccentric being upon the face of the earth, and is as likely to abuse friend as foe. Hence, among all those with whom he has been associated during the last thirty years, there is scarcely an individual whom he can call his friend. At times he is the most entertaining and amusing man alive, with manners the most pleasant and agreeable; and at other times he is sour, morose, crabbed, ill-natured, and sarcastic, — rude in manners, and repulsive to everybody. Indeed, I think he is partially deranged, and seldom in the full possession of his reason.

Mr. Everett* yesterday delivered a speech in the House of Representatives which perfectly sustained the high reputation which he has acquired at home, and is spoken of as one of the ablest and most profound, as well as most eloquent, speeches that has ever been made in that body.† I did not hear it, but this is the account of it which I get from all quarters. The subject was McDuffie's proposed amendment to the Constitution,† and he spoke in opposition to it. I am much gratified

* Edward Everett. — L.

† George McDuffie, at this time member of Congress from South Carolina. His amendment was intended to secure uniformity in the manner of choosing congressmen and presidential electors. — L.

to find that Massachusetts is reviving, and by the talents and ability of her Representatives is regaining the high stand she occupied in the days of her Ames, her Dexter, and her Otis. In Senate, too, permit me to say, she is not despised, but has her full share of weight and influence, although there is there at present much more of party bitterness than prevails in the House. The Panama question is still pending before us, and when it will be disposed of Heaven only knows; I hope, however, in a few days. I impute my late attack in a great measure to my constant and unwearied attention to that subject, and my efforts, I hope successful, in its favor."

"WASHINGTON, April 8, 1826.

"I am distressed beyond measure with the prospect of being detained here so long, though I still hope to be able to return in season for our Supreme Court. We have much yet to do, but with Randolph's perpetual gabble about every thing *but the subject in debate*, there seems to be an impossibility of effecting any thing."

"WASHINGTON, April 9, 1826.

"As Rumor with her hundred tongues is already busy in misrepresenting the affair of yesterday, I take the earliest opportunity to give you as correct an account as I have been able to get of it. Mr. Randolph, as you have seen, has been pursuing Mr. Clay in his speeches in Senate with every species of accusation, affecting his moral and political purity. Mr. Clay, writhing under this torture until it became insufferable, sent him a challenge, and yesterday at four o'clock they met. They exchanged shots without any injury to either, and their pistols were a second time loaded. At the word given by the seconds, Mr. Clay fired without effect, and Randolph, after a moment's hesitation, fired his pistol into the air, advanced to Clay, and without any apology or explanation gave him his hand. Mr. Clay could not refuse, and there the affair ended. One of Mr. Clay's balls passed through the skirts of Randolph's flannel gown or long coat, which he wore upon the occasion, but no other injury happened. I was at home, very unconscious of all this, until evening, and have not seen any of the parties to-day. The rumor this moment brought me by Mr. Lee is that another similar affair has taken place to-day (Sunday) between Mr. McDuffie and Mr. Trimble of Kentucky, but I do not believe it. The excitement, however, runs high, and it requires all the prudence and coolness of New England habits and education to keep clear of the contest. Our friend, Major Hamilton, is among the most zealous, and it is said that he went out as a mere *amateur* to witness the rencontre between Mr. Clay and Mr. Randolph. I fear the controversy will not stop until some blood has been shed, but I hope good sense will prevail over the present state of irritation."

"WASHINGTON, Feb. 16, 1827.

"MY DEAR MR. BLAKE, — "If I had not soon after my arrival promised to write you a long letter in a few days, I should, I doubt not, have

written you a half dozen times before now. But every time I have felt disposed to fulfil my promise, the idea that I must write a *long* letter occurred, and my strength and my heart failed. Indeed, my dear sir, for the last four or five weeks my health has been such that I have had neither physical strength nor mental energy for any effort of mind or body. When I left Philadelphia I was obviously gaining every day, and continued so for two or three weeks after my arrival here. But the excessively cold weather, and the exposure of attending the Senate, produced a return of my complaints, and I have suffered not a little from them. I have been obliged to keep my room most of the time, going to the Senate only when a vote was necessary on some important question. Since the weather has become more mild, however, I feel a little recruited, and were I not obliged occasionally to expose myself by going to the Senate and being kept there to a late hour, I might hope to reach the end of the session without another relapse. Situated as my health now is, the best news I could have from our legislature would be that they had postponed the election to the June session, — and, indeed, I have but very little objection to their choosing any respectable man for my successor. Under the circumstances of the case, I have felt that I could not withdraw, and I confess I should have been mortified for the character of the State if the choice had fallen upon another inefficient, taciturn gentleman, or one who had nothing but garrulity and self-sufficiency to recommend him. If they will send you here, my dear sir, no man in Massachusetts will more cordially acquiesce in the choice than myself, and I should feel that the State was honored by the exchange, and should hope that no feelings of delicacy towards me would prevent your friends from bringing you forward, or you from acceding to such a proposition. I presume, however, the question is settled in some way before this time. If I know my own heart I can truly say to you that a seat in the Senate for the next two years would not to me be a desirable situation, and that I *had rather be out than in*. For unless I am exceedingly deceived in the signs of the times, those two years will exhibit in our national legislature scenes of turbulence, of violence, of political rancor and personal abuse, such as have never been witnessed in our country. In addition to this, you know the talents of the members of our body, and the disproportion already in opposition. By the recent elections, the probability is that they will moreover have a numerical majority. Under these circumstances, I envy no man who comes into the Senate from Massachusetts with the expectation of giving efficient aid to the Administration. He will find his situation not only personally unpleasant, but laborious in the extreme.

“During the present session I have been unable to open my mouth in the way of debate, and I cannot describe to you the mortification and chagrin which I have endured, at the almost total want of talent, but above all of energy and political courage, on the part of Mr. Adams's friends. They are actually run over dry-shod, without appearing to dare make any resistance. But these remarks are intended solely for you. I could be more particular. There is talent enough

to do better, but there is neither energy, unity of action, nor mutual confidence. Your friend Robbins,* for instance, is a man of information and respectable talents, and of political courage enough. But he has no *tact*. He times nothing well. He never secures attention, and his influence is rather of the negative kind. Governor Bell † is a good, true friend to the Administration, but he differs from them on some important measures, and is always anxious to avoid controversy. Sanford, ‡ of New York, is also a *professed* friend of the Administration, but like every other New York man is a mere *politician*, without rising to the dignity of a *statesman*, and is constantly considering how he can best subserve *his own* interests, without much reference either to the Administration or the country. General Harrison § is obstinate, self-willed, garrulous, without sense, and perpetually injuring the cause he espouses. Johnston, || of Louisiana, is good and true, and would be a respectable auxiliary of an efficient leader, as would also Mr. Chambers, ¶ of Maryland. General Smith,** as you know, is scatter-brained and *uncertain*, and has the confidence of nobody. These men comprise the strength of the Administration in Senate, — and what are they in the hands of the phalanx in opposition? If I were ten years younger, and in perfect health, I should like well enough the *éclat* of placing myself at the head of the feeble band of Administration men, and stemming with sturdy sinews, and with what success I might, the hosts of the enemy. But I have neither youth nor health, and have lost something of that ardor that would be necessary to sustain me. Pray do not let a word of all this escape you as from me.

“Poor Amory has again returned without getting a decision on his bill. It was most unworthily and cruelly disposed of. There was, as you know, a favorable report in the very first days of the session. Immediately on my arrival I called it up, — its merits were explained, and the case opened by Mr. Robbins, and opposed by Kane, †† of Illinois. It was then postponed to a day certain, the next Monday. It was then taken up and a most able and satisfactory argument made in its favor by Mr. Berrien, ‡‡ but Van Buren being absent, as it *was said* on account of sickness, it was, on motion of Mr. Holmes, laid on the table. This course was assented to, with the avowed determination on the part of its friends to call it up the moment Van Buren should attend in his place. Meanwhile, the Bankrupt Bill came on, and that occupied the Senate for two or three weeks, and my health became such that I could only go into Senate to give a vote. Amory had intrusted the care of the bill to Mr. Robbins, who made the report, and he was wheedled along by Van

* Asher Robbins, Senator from Rhode Island. — L.

† Samuel Bell, Senator from New Hampshire. — L.

‡ Nathan Sanford. — L.

§ William Henry Harrison, at this time Senator from Ohio. — L.

|| Josiah S. Johnston. — L.

¶ Ezekiel F. Chambers. — L.

** Samuel Smith, of Maryland. — L.

†† Elias K. Kane. — L.

‡‡ John McPherson Berrien, Senator from Georgia. — L.

Buren under one pretence and another of *personal* convenience to postpone calling it up, from day to day and from week to week, assuring him that he had no wish to prevent the Senate coming to a final decision the present session. So it remained, notwithstanding all my assurances, whenever I saw Amory, that Van Buren would at last deceive him. The day before yesterday, however, Mr. Robbins ventured to call it up. The motion was acquiesced in by Van Buren, and sustained by the Senate, and Van Buren rose, as everybody supposed, to attempt to answer Berrien's argument, and to make a speech in opposition to the bill. Amory, delighted that he was at last about to get a definite vote, and feeling, as he had a right to feel, a strong confidence of success, immediately hastened to Coyle's to give me notice, that I might be there in season to vote. But before he could return to the Senate chamber, lo, Mr. Van Buren, the immaculate and fair-minded Mr. Van Buren, perceiving that I and two or three other friends of the bill were absent, suddenly turned his speech into a motion to lay on the table, — a motion that does not admit of debate, — alleging that the session had so nearly expired that there would not be time to act upon it deliberately, and that it ought to be postponed. This motion was at once put, and prevailed, and when Amory arrived it was thus disposed of. I never felt more indignant at any proceeding in my life. It was a shameful and miserable manœuvre, in violation of good faith and of an express promise, and altogether unworthy of a senator or a man of common honesty. I reckon this among the greatest misfortunes of my ill-health the present winter, — for I am very confident that if I had been able to take the management of the claim into my own hands, I should have had a decision weeks ago upon it, and I have very little doubt that the bill would have passed. I hope you will not understand me as imputing any blame to Mr. Amory. He was obliged to rely upon Mr. Robbins, and Robbins was deceived and imposed upon by Van Buren."

Mr. G. DEXTER communicated a gift to the Cabinet, saying:—

I have been instructed, Mr. President, to ask the Society's acceptance of a portrait in pastel of Jean Jacques Rousseau, which I have caused to be brought here to-day. It is a copy from the original by Latour, who, as is well known, became the most famous of French artists in this style of painting, was named pastel painter to the king, and given an apartment in the Louvre. This copy was made in Paris in 1846, by Mrs. Charles C. Little, then Miss Abby Wheaton, daughter of the late Hon. Henry Wheaton, and is offered to the Society by her. At the time the copy was made, the portrait, considered one of Latour's best works, was in the possession of Sébastien Cornu, himself an artist of merit. An idea of his estimation of its value may be obtained from the fact that

he allowed Mrs. Little's copy only on the express condition that no other copy should ever be made from it. Madame Cornu, the wife of the artist, will be remembered as the foster sister of Napoleon III. She has published one or two books, besides her contributions to reviews and encyclopædias.

It seems to me that this picture will be an agreeable accession to the Society's Cabinet, and I move therefore that it be accepted, and that the thanks of the Society be returned to Mrs. Little for her valuable gift.

The Society voted to accept the portrait of Rousseau, and the Secretary was directed to return their grateful acknowledgment to Mrs. Little for her interesting gift.

Mr. DEXTER then announced the publication of a new volume of Proceedings, as follows :—

I wish, also, to announce for the committee the publication of a new volume of Proceedings, volume xviii., bringing the record of the Society's meetings down to and including the meeting in June last. All the Society's proceedings are now printed, and we begin afresh to-day.

I cannot forget that the September meeting a year ago was the last which it was my privilege to attend. For nearly a whole year I have been absent from my place at this table, not, however, of my own motion. I must be allowed to take the earliest opportunity after my return to offer my warm thanks to the Society for the very kind and complimentary manner in which they declined to accept my resignation as Secretary last October. It was a comfort to me then, Mr. President and Gentlemen, to know that my efforts to maintain the high standard of the printed Proceedings were so valued that the Society were unwilling to dispense with my services until the experiment of an European voyage should decide whether I could continue them. It was a constant satisfaction to me, during my absence, to be able to look forward to a return to the congenial duties of an office so generously kept open by your kindness. For all this I can only thank you most sincerely.

I owe particular thanks to my college friend and classmate, the Rev. Mr. Foote, for his willingness to assume the burden of the secretaryship *pro tempore*, in addition to the many calls and duties of a city clergyman. Another friend and classmate, the Rev. Mr. Porter, served at a meeting which Mr. Foote was unable to attend. How ably these gentlemen per-

formed their duties, making, perhaps, my absence unfelt, is known to the Society. My absence necessarily entailed upon the other members of the publishing committee, Messrs. Smith and Green, a considerable increase of work. And Mr. Deane also aided in many ways to secure the prompt and correct printing of the Proceedings.

I have stated these facts in the prefatory note to the new volume, and have acknowledged there that the preparation of the larger part of the volume has been the work of the gentlemen I have named. But it seems to me, Mr. President, that some formal expression of gratitude is due from the Society, and I have prepared the following votes, which I now offer; asking pardon first, however, for the personal character of these introductory remarks.

Voted, That the thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society are offered to the Rev. Henry W. Foote for his kind and valuable services as Recording Secretary *pro tempore* for nearly a year.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society are tendered to the Rev. Edward G. Porter for valuable assistance rendered in the performance of the duties of the Recording Secretary during the absence of that officer.

Voted, To present the thanks of the Society to Messrs. Smith and Green, the stated members of the committee to publish the Proceedings, and to Mr. Charles Deane, for the eighteenth volume, announced at this meeting.

These votes were unanimously adopted.

The PRESIDENT made the following communication on a portrait and bust of General Lafayette in Washington:—

At our last meeting, Gentlemen, I gave some account of the portrait of John Hampden, now in the Executive Mansion at Washington. I desire to allude this afternoon to the not less interesting portrait of Lafayette, in the Hall of the House of Representatives of the United States.

I had long been familiar with this portrait while a member of Congress, and particularly while it hung so near me during my Speakership of the House, more than thirty years ago. On looking at it again carefully, in April, 1880, while I was in Washington, I observed with concern that it was in great danger of being seriously injured by neglect, the surface of

it being already blistered and cracked. The House was in session at the time, and I was sitting, by the invitation of the Speaker, in the immediate neighborhood of General Garfield, — now the President of the United States, in whose sufferings we have all felt so deep a sympathy. I ventured to call the attention of General Garfield to the state of the picture, and he rose at once and asked and obtained the unanimous consent of the House to introduce a resolution for placing it in charge of the Library Committee for repair. This was done, and the portrait has now, I trust, been put into a safe condition for posterity.

Meantime, however, I found that the history of the portrait was but imperfectly known; and more than one erroneous statement was made during the brief debate to which I listened on General Garfield's resolution. I accordingly resorted to the Congress Library to verify my remembrances of its history, and, in the course of my investigations, I discovered more than I had ever known before.

It seems that this noble full-length portrait of Lafayette was not only painted by the celebrated French artist, ARY SCHEFFER, as I well knew, but that it was presented by him to the House of Representatives of the United States.

As it was presented to a single branch of Congress, it was never acknowledged or recognized as a gift to the Country, and no record of its reception is to be found anywhere except in the Journal of the House. There, under date of "Thursday, Dec. 23, 1824," the following entries may be read: —

Journal of the House of Representatives, Thursday, Dec. 23; 1824.

The Speaker laid before the House the following communication, viz.: —

PARIS, Oct. 17, 1824.

SIR, — I send by the ship "Cadmus," Captain Francis Allyn (who has kindly promised to take it on to Washington), a full-length portrait of General Lafayette,* painted by me, which I pray you to do me the honor to accept for the Hall of the House of Representatives, over which you preside.

As the friend and admirer of General Lafayette, and of American liberty, I feel happy to have it in my power to express, in this way, my grateful feelings for the national honors which the free people of the United States are, at this moment, bestowing on the friend and

* The Speaker mentioned to the House that the portrait had not been received by him at this time.

companion in arms of your illustrious *Washington*, on *the man* who has been so gloriously received by you as the "Nation's Guest."

Accept, sir, with the above testimony of my sentiments for your country, and for my venerable friend, the sincere assurance of my profound respect.

A. SCHEFFER.

To the Hon. *The Speaker of the House of Representatives*,
U. S., Washington.

The said letter was read and laid upon the table.

House Journal, Thursday, Jan. 20, 1825.

On motion of Mr. Van Rensselaer, it was

Ordered, That the Speaker answer the letter of Mr. Scheffer, of Paris, and make to him suitable acknowledgments for the fine portrait of General Lafayette, which he has presented to the House of Representatives.

Ordered, That the Speaker direct where the portrait of General Lafayette be suspended.

The Speaker at that time was the illustrious Henry Clay, of Kentucky, afterwards Secretary of State, and Senator. He undoubtedly made an appropriate answer to the letter of the eminent French artist, but there is no copy of it extant.

An excellent engraving of the portrait was executed in Paris at the time, which is still occasionally to be found. I have a copy myself, which has peculiar value for me as having been brought over to my mother by Lafayette's own hand, when he came as the nation's guest in 1824.

But the portrait itself is one of great value, and one whose history should not be lost sight of hereafter.

Before parting from the name of Lafayette, — every thing about whom is interesting in connection with the approaching Yorktown Centennial, — I desire to mention that my friend Mr. Dexter, our Recording Secretary, has kindly called my attention to a bust of him, presented to Congress, in 1828, by M. DAVID, — then a member of the Institute of France, a Professor of the School of Painting at Paris, and a member of the Legion of Honor, — executed by himself.

The gift was communicated by the following letter to the President of the United States, which was transmitted to Congress, with the bust, by President John Quincy Adams, on the 29th of January, 1829: —

PARIS, Sept. 11, 1823.

TO THE PRESIDENT.

I have executed a bust of Lafayette. I could have wished to have raised a statue to him; not for his benefit, for he does not require it, but for ourselves, who feel so ardently the desire to express the love and admiration with which he inspires us.

The whole youth of France envy both the youth and the old age of him whose resemblance I send you.

They envy that glory which was acquired on your American soil, by the side of the immortal Washington, in defence of your inestimable rights.

They envy that glory which was acquired on the soil of France, in the midst of the troubles of Paris and Versailles, in those councils where it required more courage to contend in argument than is necessary to combat in arms.

They envy that glory which crowns a head white with age, but still glowing with the fires of liberty and patriotism.

It is in the name of this youth of France, anxious to imitate whatever is generous and great, that I present to you the work on which I have bestowed much time and labor.

I could have wished it had been more worthy of the subject, more worthy of the place I desire it should occupy. Yes, sir, I could wish that the bust of our brave General, of our illustrious Deputy, might be set up in the Hall of Congress near the monument erected to Washington,—the son by the side of the father; or rather, that the two brothers in arms, the two companions in victory, the two men of order and of law, should not be more separated in our admiration than they were in their wishes and in their perils.

Lafayette is one of the ties that connect the two worlds. A few months since he revisited your land, consecrated by justice and equality, and you restored him to us honored by your hospitality and your homage.

In my turn I restore him to you, or rather I only restore to you his image: for he himself must remain with us, in order to recall frequently to the national councils those eternal principles on which the independence of nations reposes, and the hopes of mankind are built.

I am, with profound respect, Mr. President,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

DAVID,

Member of the French Institute, and Professor of the School of Painting; Member of the Legion of Honor.

This bust was accepted by Congress soon afterwards and placed among the treasures of the Capitol.

The name of the artist, by whom it was executed and presented, was Pierre Jean David. He was known as David d'Angers, having been born at Angers in France, and is thus distinguished from the great painter of Napoleon, Jacques

Louis David, who died in 1825, of whom he had been a pupil and whose niece he married. He had himself produced a statue of the great Prince of Condé, which gave him a high reputation, and he was thereupon employed by the French Government in adorning the Pantheon with sculptures. He executed, also, a bust of Washington, which is believed to be at the Capitol with that of Lafayette. He died in 1856.

Mr. JOHN L. SIBLEY communicated the following particulars of the early life of his college classmate, Judge Ames, which he thought might be interesting, as they partook of the nature of autobiography. He had taken them down from the Judge's own lips in May, 1858.

Seth Ames says that he was born at Dedham, Mass., 19 April, 1805. His father, Fisher Ames (H. U., 1774), married Frances, third daughter of the Hon. John Worthington, of Springfield. The earliest recollection of the son is of going into the room to see the corpse of his father. His first teacher was Betty Gould, a very good woman, but a fanatical Methodist, who was talking religion chiefly instead of teaching. Subsequently he went to school in Dedham to the Rev. Titus Strong. Afterward he went to James Foord several years, beginning and pursuing Latin and Greek under him. Some two years before entering college, with one other Dedham boy and two or three young men in the navy, he went to school to Cheever Felch, a chaplain in the navy who knew but little Latin or Greek, though he went through the forms of hearing the boys recite. Then he studied some with his brother, J. Fisher Ames (H. U., 1822). In March, 1821, he went to Phillips Academy, Andover, under John Adams, Mr. Clement, and a Mr. Phillips; and from thence, with Augustus H. Fiske, entered college in 1821. In the winter of the Junior year he taught school at Weston, and in the Senior year at Groton. In college he obtained a first Bowdoin prize. He roomed with Fiske all the way through college, and subsequently a year and a term while in the Law School, then under Professor Stearns. He spent the whole of the year 1827 in the office of the Hon. George Bliss of Springfield. In 1828, in January, he entered the office of the Hon. Lemuel Shaw, of Boston, where he remained till he was admitted to the bar in Dedham, in September, 1828, and in the same month opened an office in Lowell. Oct. 13, 1831, he was married to Miss Margaret Stevenson Bradford (born 1804), daughter of Gamaliel Bradford, and she died 17 Oct., 1847. By her he had Frances Worthington, born 16 Aug., 1832, who was married 30 Sept., 1854, to Francis Howland, Esq., of New York (H. U., 1849); John Worthington, born 23 Nov., 1833; Fisher, born 24 Jan., 1838; Pelham Warren, born 22 April, 1839; Richard, born 25 Dec., 1840, died 6 May, 1841; Susan Dunkin, born 6 Aug., 1842, died 26 July, 1844. He married (2d) 25 Sept., 1849, Miss Abby Fisher, daughter

of the Rev. Samuel and Henrietta (Bridge) Dana, born 19 Oct., 1819, by whom he has no children.

He was in the House of Representatives in 1832; in the Senate in 1841; was alderman of Lowell in 1836, 1837, and 1840; and city solicitor for some six or eight years, till he left Lowell and moved to Cambridge in September, 1849. He was appointed clerk of the courts of Middlesex County by the Judges of the Supreme Court, in July, 1849, and was elected also by the people in 1856, when the office was made elective. In April, 1848, he went to Europe, and returned in September of the same year, having been to England, France, and Naples, and returned by the Rhine, Brussels, Paris, and England, home. He edited the second edition of his father's works.

Mr. SIBLEY spoke also of Colonel Trumbull's visit to Cambridge in 1841 or 1842, and of his portrait of Governor Gore, now in Memorial Hall. He read extracts from a letter which he had lately received from Professor Silliman of Yale College, whose mother was Colonel Trumbull's niece. Professor Silliman has the desk upon which Trumbull, as Fifth Commissioner under the seventh article of Jay's treaty with Great Britain, wrote the opinions and decisions of the commissioners to settle the claims of Americans for losses by illegal captures of their vessels by British cruisers. Governor Gore was also a commissioner, and their intimacy began here. There are at least three portraits of Gore by Trumbull: one at Cambridge, one in New Haven, and a third in the Cabinet of this Society. Professor Silliman has also a considerable number of Gore's letters to Trumbull. He remarks in his letter that the volumes of "Trumbull Papers" in the Society's Library were given to Boston by a fit of ill temper of Governor Trumbull's executor because the corporation of Yale College, as Colonel William Williams thought, was lukewarm about receiving them.*

The President presented in the name of the Hon. William Aspinwall a photograph of the old Aspinwall house in Brookline, for which the thanks of the Society were ordered. He presented also two pamphlets which he had lately received from their authors.†

* The Society obtained these papers from David Trumbull and other heirs of the Governor. See Proceedings, vol. i., pp. 68, 83, 85. The State of Connecticut attempted to reclaim them in 1845, but the Society declined to surrender them. Proceedings, vol. ii., pp. 322, 330, 343, 357. — EDS.

† One of these pamphlets, in Portuguese, is the fifth part of a "Diccionario de Numismatica Portuguesa," by José do Amaral, B. de Tóro. The other, in Spanish, possesses perhaps more interest for historical scholars. It is a monograph entitled "Defensa del apellido familiar de Juan Sebastian del Cano," by D. Nicolás de Soraluce y Zubizarreta. With it the author sends a circular letter

Messrs. Deane, Winsor, and T. C. Amory were appointed a Committee to confer with the Overseers of the Poor, and to examine certain papers in the custody of that Board with a view to their publication in the Society's Proceedings.

explaining that the Geographical Society of Madrid adopted in 1879 the spelling Elcano for the name of Magellan's lieutenant and successor in command of the expedition which first circumnavigated the globe; that the Royal Spanish Academy and the Royal Academy of History had before decided, in 1872 and 1873 respectively, that this name was J. S. del Cano, and not Elcano, and that in the *Informe* issued by the Academy of History a large number of proofs of this spelling advanced by him (Don Soraluze) had been adopted. He states also that both the Navarretes have acknowledged the correctness of this spelling. Under these circumstances he feels called upon to publish this "Defensa." It bears date May, 1881.—Eds.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1881.

The regular monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at 3 o'clock P.M., at the Society's rooms in Boston. In the absence of the President, who had started on his journey to Virginia, where he was to deliver the centennial oration at Yorktown on the 19th, the senior Vice-President, the Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., occupied the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the previous meeting, and it was approved.

The Librarian presented the monthly list of donors to the Library. Among the gifts were a finely bound copy of the second volume of Mr. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, from the author; and the new volume of the Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, just received from Mr. Winthrop, the chairman of that Board.

The Cabinet-keeper reported that the medals and decorations of Dr. Jackson, which the Society had voted to accept as a deposit, had been received and placed in the Cabinet. He read the following letter from Mrs. Jackson to the President:—

HON. R. C. WINTHROP,

DEAR SIR,— Agreeably to your permission I beg leave to deposit with your Society the accompanying medals and decorations, received by my late husband, Dr. Charles T. Jackson, from various foreign governments, in recognition of his several scientific discoveries; and in so doing I am happy in the assurance of their greater safety than in my care.

Yours very respectfully,

SUSAN JACKSON.

CONCORD, MASS., Sept. 17, 1881.

The VICE-PRESIDENT then said that the Society's records would hardly be complete without some notice of our sorrow for the nation's loss in the death of President Garfield. He submitted, therefore, as the first business of the meeting, the following resolutions prepared by the President before his departure:—

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society, recognizing the great crime of the 2d of July last as, in all its inci-

dents and consequences, the most impressive and deplorable event of modern history, desire to enter upon their records, in the simplest manner, an expression of their deep sorrow for the death of President Garfield, and of their heartfelt concurrence in all the surpassing tributes of respect and admiration which have been paid to his character and memory, in every part of our own land and throughout the world.

Resolved, That our President communicate the above resolution to Mrs. Garfield, with an assurance of our sincere sympathy with her in the terrible affliction which, in the providence of God, she has been called on to endure, and which she has borne with a resignation and a fortitude only equalled by those displayed by her illustrious and lamented husband to the last hour of his life.

These Resolutions were adopted by a rising vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT continued : —

On the day following the last monthly meeting of this Society the remains of our late honored associate, Dr. Samuel Foster Haven, of Worcester, were committed to Mt. Auburn Cemetery. Reference was made to his decease at that meeting. Our esteem for him, our estimate of his high and attractive character, and of his many virtues, and our appreciation of his devoted labors and his great accomplishments in his chosen fields of history, archæology, and bibliography, require of us a further sympathetic reference. An affiliated body, the American Antiquarian Society, of which he was for forty-three years the Librarian, — and how much more than the Librarian ! — may well be charged with the grateful office of putting upon record, so far as that sad and fragmentary tribute can effect, the character and value of his services, continued with devoted and unwearied industry, with marvellous brilliancy of genius and aptitude for his work, and with a skill and ingenuity which made even the dumb relics in his charge to be communicative to one who merely looked at them. If the word Librarian means merely a custodian of books, it is a wholly inadequate title for Dr. Haven ; for he was himself the catalogue, the interpreter, the commentator, the appraiser of the contents and value of that rich collection of treasures which had so largely gathered under his administration. Among the portraits of all the worthies which adorn the walls of the Library in Worcester, beginning with that of the discoverer of the continent, there

is not one which more becomes its place than does that of Dr. Haven.

The services performed by Dr. Haven for our own Society, taken in connection with the help which he has privately furnished to many of its members in their own researches, call for our grateful recognition. He had eminently the special endowments, aptitudes, and trained habits for the most recondite studies and for accurate presentation of primary historical materials. The painstaking labor performed by him in arranging and facilitating for use by others large masses of miscellaneous papers, has been recognized by those who have profited by it. His name appears on the titlepages of very many monographs, but if he had concentrated his work given to them on any one of the largest subjects of our local or national history he would certainly have won high honor from it.

The papers inform us of the sudden decease of Dr. Josiah Gilbert Holland, whose name is on the list of Corresponding Members. We were glad to place it there when on his removal from this State it dropped from our list of Resident Members. Dr. Holland passes away in the full vigor of his powers, when he might have counted upon many more years for the exercise of his fine and versatile talents for the instruction and moral elevation, in several departments of literature, of his vast community of readers. He won his first fame and distinction in the department represented by this Society. His two volumes of the History of Western Massachusetts are faithful in their research and narrative.

Notices have recently appeared in the public prints of a proposition said to have been made by Mr. Scott, Chamberlain of the City of London, looking to the restoration to this country, by authority, of the manuscript volume of Governor Bradford's "History of the Old Plymouth Colony." The statement is made that as the volume is regarded as national property, it can be withdrawn from the library of the Bishop of London, at Fulham, only by act of Parliament. An intimation appears through the same channel, that if the volume is restored it will probably be presented by the British government to the library of Congress. Members of this Society will remember that a few years ago an informal request was made to our associate, the Hon. Charles F. Adams, to seek, by correspondence with Mr. Gladstone, that the volume be returned to this country. We should welcome its recovery

for this side of the water by whatever instrumentality, and whatever might be the destination or repository assigned for it here. As this Society can claim no previous right of ownership of the volume, we can do nothing more than manifest our interest in its recovery, and make any suggestions about it which are consistent with courtesy and propriety. If the volume should be returned through any kindly instrumentality bringing about an act of Parliament to effect it, the method of the act and the destination assigned for it might depend, in some measure, at least, upon the view taken by the British government of the means by which it obtained the volume and the tenure of its possession. If that government regards the volume as its own property, acquired as the spoil of war, and proposes to make a generous gift of it, then, as nations deal only with nations, and not with private bodies, the library of Congress might be regarded as the proper place of deposit. But if the volume is to come back in the form of a restitution to the representative of its owner, then it will not be unbecoming that some important facts bearing upon the subject should be brought to the notice of the British government. True, we might wait the result, and if the library of Congress should receive the volume representations might then be made to Congress that, as its library was not in existence when the volume was taken from this country, it may with propriety be instrumental in reassigning the volume to its rightful destination. Then will arise a question as to the ownership of the manuscript when it was taken from this country. It is believed that it was at the time, or had previously been, among Dr. Prince's collection of books and manuscripts in a tower-room of the Old South Meeting-house when the edifice was occupied by British soldiers in 1775-76. It is not known, however, whether the materials gathered in that repository for historical purposes were the absolute property of Dr. Prince, or had — few or more of them — been loaned to him, and then by him, subject to the recall of their individual owners. If the manuscript belonged to Dr. Prince, then its proper depository, in case of its return here, would be with the Prince Library, now in charge of the Boston Public Library. If it should be made to appear that the manuscript had been loaned to Dr. Prince, then the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth might perhaps put in a claim to its possession.

Mr. DEANE, — who, in 1855, procured a transcript of the Bradford manuscript from the Fulham Library, and edited

it for this Society, — expressed the hope that, if the application for the return of the volume to this country should be successful, there might be some designation accompanying it as to its place of final deposit. There would, of course, be many applicants for the volume, and it might be difficult to determine to whose custody it rightfully belonged. The owner of the volume in 1728 was Major John Bradford of Kingston, a grandson of the author. He had lent it to Judge Sewall, but the Rev. Thomas Prince got the permission of its owner to receive it, and use it in making his "Chronology"; and he asked the additional favor of "lodging it" in his New England Library, deposited in the tower of the Old South Church. All this he tells us in a note written on a fly-leaf of the volume, and now printed in the introduction to the published work. But Mr. Deane found, on inspecting the original manuscript some years later, the following supplementary note of Prince: —

"But major Bradford tells me and assures me that He only lent this Book of his Grandfather's to Mr. Sewall. & that it being of his Grandfather's own handwriting He had so high a value for it that he would never Part with y^e property, but would lend it to me, & desired me to get it, which I did, & write this that so major Bradford & his Heirs may be known to be the Right owners."

Major Bradford probably never reclaimed the manuscript. He died in 1736, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Prince died in 1758, bequeathing the New England Library to the Old South Church. The Bradford manuscript contains the printed book-plate of the New England Library pasted on one of the fly-leaves. It reads as follows: "This Book belongs to the New England Library Begun to be collected by Thomas Prince on his entering Harvard College July 6, 1703, and was given by —." No name of donor is inserted, and probably the book-plate was placed in the volume after Prince's death. One of the bishops of London has now written under the book-plate the following: "It now belongs to the Bishop of London's Library at Fulham."

Mr. Deane said that there were two other manuscript books at Fulham, — parchment-bound folios, — which once belonged to the New England Library. One is a commonplace book, and the other a dictionary of authors. They were written by the Rev. Nathan Prince, a brother of the Rev. Thomas Prince, the founder of the New England Library; and a companion volume yet reposes among the manuscripts in that collection. It is well known that Governor

Hutchinson was the last person who publicly used Governor Bradford's manuscript. He published a long extract from it in the appendix to the second volume of his history, 1767, nine years after the death of Prince.

The Rev. Dr. HOPPIN expressed an opinion that it was possible that the volume found its way into the bishop's library through the Rev. East Apthorp, the first rector of Christ Church, Cambridge. Mr. Apthorp was made vicar of Croydon, England, in 1765, where Governor Hutchinson lived after his retirement from Boston. Both gentlemen were of Boston birth, and connected; Mr. Apthorp having married the Governor's niece. Hutchinson may have carried the volume to England, and given it to Apthorp, who, in addition to his vicarage, held a prebendary's stall in the London cathedral, and was a clergyman of influence. But Dr. Hoppin added that there was as yet no evidence to support this theory.

The Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A.M., of Boston, was elected a Resident Member; and the Rev. Henry M. Baird, D.D., of New York, and Colonel Henry B. Carrington, LL.D., of the United States Army, were elected Corresponding Members.

The Hon. SAMUEL C. COBB communicated a couple of leaves from the private diary of his grandfather, General David Cobb, who was one of Washington's aids. These leaves cover the months of October and November, 1781, and contain memoranda of daily events during the siege of Yorktown, and of General Cobb's journey from Virginia to General Heath's post on the Hudson River. Mr. Cobb communicated, also, a letter from General Cobb to Judge Robert T. Paine, written nine days after Cornwallis's surrender, which gives a more detailed account than the diary.*

These papers here follow:—

Before York Town, Virginia.

October 1. The engineers reconnoitring the enemy's position and works. Every thing employed to bring up the heavy artillery and stores from the landing. Enemy fire a few shot now and then. Fair, cool.

* General Cobb was born in Attleborough, Mass., Sept. 14, 1748, and graduated from Harvard College in 1766. He was commissioned lieutenant-colonel in Henry Jackson's regiment early in 1777, and appointed to Washington's staff, June 16, 1781. He was a member of Washington's family for some years. A life of him, with a portrait, may be found in the "Memorials of the Society of the Cincinnati of Massachusetts," pp. 258-262. — Eds.

October 2. Still on our ground. Artillery and stores begin to come in. Still a fire from the enemy. Erected two redoubts last night on the ground the enemy left. Fair, cool.

October 3. At work on the redoubts. Firing from the enemy. Heavy artillery arriving in camp. Cloudy, cool, wind E.

October 4. Still at work. News that Duke Lauzun had a skirmish on the other side with Tarleton, and successful.* Four men killed last night. Cloudy and cool. Artillery still coming.

October 5. No material occurrence. Fascines and other necessary things were collected this day near the place of our intended approach, and every preparation made and making for breaking ground. Fair. Peirce, General Greene's aid, arrived with official accounts of the battle of the 8th ultimo.†

October 6. Cloudy, rainy at times, wind S. E. and E. Large quantity of fascines and gabions deposited on our right. Colonel Scammell died this afternoon, at Williamsburg, of his wounds, — a great and worthy officer. His loss much regretted by the army.

October 7. Heavy rain last night. We broke ground last night for our first parallel, and almost finished our trenches by morning. Fair most of the day. Cold, wind N. W. Not a man of ours killed or wounded.

October 8. Fair. The work going on with alacrity, some advanced batteries almost finished. Firing from the enemy as usual.

October 9. Cold last night; fair and warm. A battery with four mortars and six cannon (eighteens and twenty-fours) opened this afternoon. A number of shells thrown into the enemy's works. A French battery on the left was likewise opened. Received a letter from Jos. Russell. Not so much firing from the enemy.

October 10. Three large batteries, in addition to those of yesterday, opened this morning at daybreak with a large number of mortars, — most noble music! The enemy's works silenced. Constant firing from us through the day. Fascines and other utensils for forwarding our approaches collected.

October 11. Constant firing from us of shot and shells. The enemy return very few shot. Completing our first parallel and batteries. Fair, warm.

October 12. Broke ground last night on our second parallel, with very little loss, within two hundred yards of the enemy's works. More firing from the enemy than usual; few shells. The French lost fifteen men and two officers this day. Constant firing from our batteries.

October 13. Still completing the second parallel; the enemy increasing their fire. They threw a number of shells that injured us much.

October 14. Constant firing from the enemy, with some little effect. Large preparations making for further approaches.

* See "Magazine of American History," June, 1880, p. 446; January, 1881, pp. 41, 53; and September, 1881, p. 226. Tarleton's account of the affair is given in his "Campaigns in the Southern Provinces," at pp. 376-378. — Eds.

† The battle of Eutaw Springs. — Eds.

October 15. Last evening, at seven, we carried two of the enemy's advanced redoubts by storm, one by the French, the other by the American troops. Took sixty-seven privates prisoners and six officers, a major among them. It was conducted with great bravery and address. After taking the redoubts, we continued our second parallel to the right through them, with all the communications with the first parallel. All finished by morning. We are now within one hundred and fifty yards of some of the enemy's works. Batteries opening for guns and mortars.

October 16. Constant firing on both sides; our batteries not entirely completed. Fair; warm in the day, cool at night.

October 17. Fair. Rained last night, with high wind. Lord Cornwallis sent a flag requesting a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to treat on terms for the surrender of the British army and navy under his command. Two hours were granted, which finally brought on an intercourse of flags that ended in a cessation of arms for the night. His lordship proposed surrendering prisoners, and some other terms that could not be granted.

October 18. After some flags had passed, commissioners finally were appointed to adjust the articles of capitulation: Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens and Count de Noailles on our side; Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas and Major Ross on theirs. Settled by ten at night. Fair; warm in the day, cold at night.

October 19. This morning at twelve the articles were signed. At one o'clock our troops took possession of some of the enemy's works, and they marched out [at] two o'clock, — most happy sight! Lord Cornwallis, being unwell, did not march with his troops. General O'Hara marched.

October 20. Fair and pleasant; a little frost this morning in the low ground. Went over to Gloucester and waited on Colonel Tarleton, who treated me very politely. The heads of department arranging matters in the town.

October 21. Fair and warm. His Excellency went off this morning to pay Count de Grasse a visit. The prisoners marched in the afternoon for Winchester, where they are to remain. The officers are chiefly paroled for New York and Europe. Jerry Olney. Camp before York, October 21.*

October 22. Fair, very pleasant. Lord Cornwallis and a number of British officers dined at head-quarters, — Lord Chewton,† General O'Hara, &c.

October 23. Fair, warm. His Excellency dined at Count Rochambeau's, with Lord Cornwallis and others, — a large company. Heads of departments still at work to arrange matters in proper places.

* Colonel Jeremiah Olney, who commanded the Rhode Island regiment at Yorktown. He was, after the war, the Collector of Customs at Providence and the President of the Rhode Island Cincinnati. — *Eds.*

† George, Viscount Chewton, afterward fourth Earl of Waldegrave. He was on Cornwallis's staff. See "Correspondence of Cornwallis," vol. i. p. 135. — *Eds.*

About seven thousand land troops returned prisoners. Received a letter from J. Russell.

October 24. Fair and pleasant. His Excellency, in company with the British general officers, dined at General Chastellux's. Arrangements making for the army.

October 25. Rained last night. Fair and cold. Every preparation making to establish order in the great confusions of York and Gloucester, and to convey the British officers to New York, those on parole.

October 26. Rained last night and till noon this day; some thunder; fair [in] the afternoon.

October 27. Fair and cool, brisk wind. Went into Yorktown with his Excellency, and called upon Lord Cornwallis. I dined with General Lincoln.

October 28. Fair and pleasant. Making up despatches for Congress. Wrote letters to R. T. Paine, Esq., and J. Russell, General Heath, &c. The English fleet arrived off the Capes.

October 29. Cold last night; fair, cold wind. Artillery and stores embarking at York for the Head of Elk. Some vessels sailing.

October 30. Fair; cool wind at N. W. Shifted southward toward night. Colonel Humphreys embarked for Philadelphia, and Fitzhugh for Maryland.*

October 31. Procured our things at York. Fair, pleasant. All the artillery and most of the stores loaded. Brisk wind.

November 1. Very high wind, with rain last night; fair and warm to-day.

November 2. Rainy and cool all day. Dined with General Wayne, in company with his Excellency, Count Rochambeau, Chastellux, &c. Went into York.

November 3. Fair, pleasant, wind N. W. Chief of the stores embarked, and most of the troops sailed up the bay; some go by land.

November 4. Fair, pleasant, cool. Took leave of all the French generals and our friends of the French army. Dined with General Chastellux.

November 5. Fair, pleasant, warm, wind N. W. Set off about ten o'clock from our old quarters near Yorktown; passed through Williamsburg, where the General visited the sick and wounded in the hospital, and proceeded on to Bird's ordinary to dine. Reached Colonel Bassett's in the evening. Mr. Custis, just expiring, died about nine

* The first despatches after the surrender had already been sent to Congress. Colonel Tench Tilghman was the bearer of them, and reached Philadelphia early in the morning of October 24. Colonel Humphreys carried full details of the affair, and twenty-four British standards. See "Pennsylvania Packet," Oct. 25 and Nov. 10, 1781. A memoir of Colonel Tilghman, with his diaries and letters, was published at Albany in 1876. The other officer mentioned was Peregrine Fitzhugh, a lieutenant in the Maryland Dragoons. Mr. B. Fernow, in an interesting account of Washington's military family, in the "Magazine of American History," for August, 1881, says that Fitzhugh was appointed aid, July 2, 1781, and thinks that his was only a temporary appointment.—Eds.

o'clock in the evening. I went with the General to Colonel Bassett's; the gentlemen stayed at Bird's.*

November 6. Set off from Colonel Bassett's. Left the General. Met the gentlemen on the road at Franks's, and pursued our journey to Mount Vernon. Got as far as Slaughters, six miles beyond the Pamunkey. Colonel Trumbull stayed with the General. Fair, agreeable.

November 7. Pursued our journey; breakfasted at Auletta,† and reached as far as the Bowling Green, forty miles. Fair, very pleasant, wind still N. W.

November 8. Continued our journey. Breakfasted at Todd's, halted for an hour at Fredericksburg, and reached Garnett's at night. Still fair and pleasant.

November 9. Still on our journey. Breakfasted at Dumfries, and got to Mount Vernon at night. Very cold this morning, but fair and pleasant the rest [of the day].

November 10. Fair, cloudy towards night; a little cool. Spent our time very pleasantly in company with General Knox and lady, Parson Blair, and others. Gunning.

November 11. Snow and rain most of last night and all this day.

November 12. Snowed this morning hard till noon, cloudy the rest of the day. Still at Mount Vernon.

November 13. Set off from Mount Vernon at one o'clock; passed the great Potomac at Alexandria, and got as far as Bladensburg. Cloudy and cold all day. Wind N. W. All the snow off the ground though it fell ten inches deep.

November 14. Continued our journey from Bladensburg. Breakfasted at Rose's, and got to Baltimore at night. Fair and pleasant; some ice last night.

November 15. Still on our journey. Breakfasted at Phillips's, stopped at Bush Town, and reached as far as the Susquehanna. Cloudy most of the day, sometimes fair.

November 16. Continued the journey from the Susquehanna, crossed the ferry at nine o'clock, and got to Head of Elk. Waiting for the vessels to come up the bay. Fair, cloudy [in] the afternoon.

November 17. Very rainy all day. Still at Elk. Wind N. E. Some vessels arrived here.

November 18. Fair most of the day; warm, pleasant. Still at Elk.

November 19. Rainy [in] the morning; the rest fair, cold. General Knox and lady came here.

* Bird's ordinary was a tavern on the road from Williamsburg to New Kent Court House. The Marquis de Chastellux gives (*Travels*, Eng. ed., vol. ii. pp. 8-7) an account of the landlord's sufferings at the hands of the British. Mr. Custis was John Parke Custis, Washington's step-son. He had contracted the camp fever in the trenches before Yorktown, where he was serving as an extra aid, and had been removed to Eltham, in New Kent County, the seat of his uncle, Colonel Bassett. Washington was much attached to him, and adopted his youngest children, Eleanor and George W. P. Custis. See Mr. Custis's "Recollections of Washington," pp. 254, 255, 505. — Eds.

† Aylett is laid down on modern maps of Virginia, on the Mattaponi River, in King William County. — Eds.

November 20. Set off from the Head of Elk. Breakfasted, Christiana, passed through Wilmington, and lodged at Chester. Fair, cold; coldest last night of the year.

November 21. Very cold. Arrived at Philadelphia about eleven o'clock. Cloudy, and some snow. A vessel arrived with the news of the Spaniards capturing Minorca.

November 22. Fair, little warmer, wind S. W. Visited my friends.

November 23. Fair; cold again. General Lincoln arrived in the city.

November 24. Fair, cold. Set off from Philadelphia, passed Neshaminy ferry, stopped at Bristol, and got to Trenton at night. Passed the Delaware about sunset.

November 25. Continued my journey from Trenton. Breakfasted at Princeton, and passed through a most beautiful settled country on the Mill Stone River at Somerset, and lodged this night at the Raritan, Vamaster's [?] bridge. Cloudy and rainy all day; rained hard at night.

November 26. On my journey. Breakfasted at Veal Town, passed through Morristown to Salter's tavern, ten miles from Pompton. Cloudy; a little rain at times [in] the forenoon, the rest fair. Very high wind N. W.

November 27. Pursued my journey at sunrise. Breakfasted at Pompton, and got as far as Colonel Cooper's, two miles above Cahiatia church. Fair, very cold in the morning.

November 28. Still on my journey. Breakfasted at Colonel Hay's, Smith's White house at Haverstraw.* Passed King's ferry, and arrived at night at General Heath's quarters at Robinson's house, happy in seeing my friends. Cloudy [in] the morning, snow the rest of the day.

November 29. Rained last night; cloudy, rainy, and snowy at times all day. Visited Colonel Jackson and officers, hutting on the mountains. Stayed with them the night.

November 30. Still with the lads hutting in the mountains, and with General Heath at Robinson's house. Fair, agreeable day, warmer than common. Dined with Colonel Greateon.

Lieutenant-Colonel David Cobb to Hon. Robert Treat Paine.

HEAD-QUARTERS, NEAR YORK, VIRGINIA, Oct. 28, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,— My not writing you heretofore has not been owing to a want of an affectionate remembrance of you and your family, but to a proper opportunity and a certain mode of conveyance.

You must be informed before this of the interesting event that has taken place in this quarter, which I should have informed you of at the time, but the despatches for Congress were sent so suddenly that I had

* "Smith's White House" was the name given to the mansion of Joshua Hett Smith. This was the house where André and Arnold met, and its owner was tried by court-martial for aiding in the treason. There is an account of the house, with a view, in the "Magazine of American History" for July, 1880. — Eds.

only a moment just to inform Governor Hancock. As Lord Cornwallis surrendered at least seven days sooner than we expected, I will give you some of the particulars of our operations: On the 8th inst., after great exertions and fatigue in bringing up our heavy artillery and stores, we opened our first batteries upon his lordship; these required finishing; and putting our first parallel in a proper state of defence detained us till the evening of the 14th, when two of the enemy's advanced redoubts, through which we intended running our second parallel, were stormed and carried, and our second parallel, together with all its communications, was completed by morning. Most of the two following days were employed in erecting batteries on our advanced parallel; soon after they were completed, and we had opened sixty pieces of artillery. His lordship, on the morning of the 17th, sent a flag, which was the first that had passed, with proposals for the surrendering of the posts of York and Gloucester. Hostilities ceased. After an interchange of flags, by which the principles of the surrender were explained, commissioners were appointed on the 18th to settle the articles, and on the 19th, at two o'clock P.M., the British army marched out and grounded their arms,—most joyful day! Most of the officers are paroled for Europe, and their troops marched, three days after their captivity, for their lodgment at Winchester, in this State. The British army, including officers, is above seven thousand, and a thousand naval prisoners. We have taken two thousand suits of clothes, seventy-five pieces of brass artillery, and one hundred and forty-one iron, together with a quantity of powder and other military stores,—not forgetting the military chest, with two thousand pounds sterling in it, and nine thousand stands of arms,—about sixty sail of vessels, including a frigate and sloop of war, all which belong to the French. A forty-gun ship was burned by us in the siege.

This is the greatest blow our enemies have received during the war, more particularly as it has happened in that part of the continent they thought themselves perfectly secure of, and must, with a continuance of our exertions, soon put us in possession of our wished-for peace.

Arrangements are now forming for the future disposal of the troops, and I suppose those troops that belong northward will soon march for their old position on the Hudson. His Excellency will return with them. General Greene will be reinforced; and Count Rochambeau with his army will perhaps remain in this State.

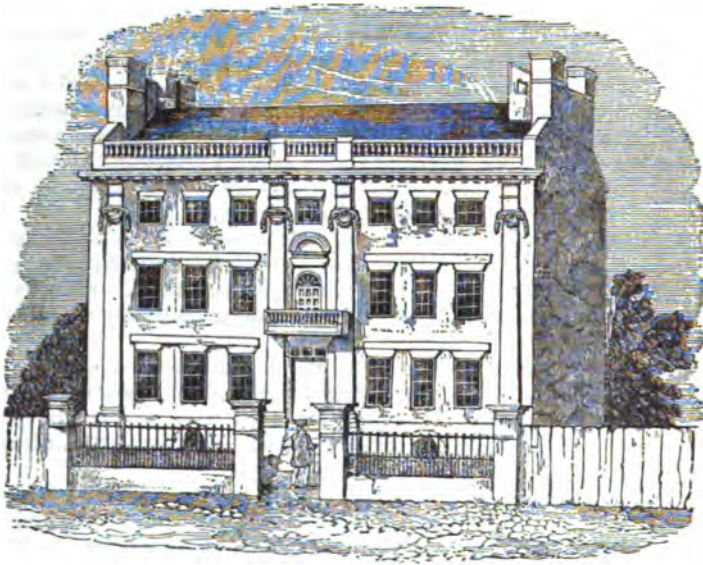
Count de Grasse, with the first fleet in the world, will, if the British dare face him, give them another flogging, and then pursue the orders of his master. I can't write you any more. Give my love to Mrs. Paine and family, and remembrance to all friends. Don't forget honest Joe. You will probably hear from me again when I come a little nearer to you; at present I am out of the world. My best wishes attend you, and believe me ever your sincere friend,

DAVID COBB.

Hon^{ble}. Robt. Treat Paine.

Mr. WINSOR, at the instance of Professor Torrey, drew attention to some letters, chiefly by Governor Hutchinson, referred to or printed in part in "The Calendar of Home Office Papers," of the reign of George III., 1770-72; being volume iii. of the series. The originals are preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office; and Mr. Winsor asked to have the memorandum referred to the Publishing Committee, with a view to procuring full copies for the Proceedings, in case it was found desirable. Hutchinson's letters are addressed to John Pownall and Hillsborough, and refer to the spirit of revolution then growing in Boston. The editor, Mr. Roberts, makes, in his preface, particular mention of these letters of Hutchinson.

Mr. Winsor stated, also, that he had discovered a picture of Governor Hutchinson's house in Garden Court Street, Boston, and exhibited it, in the "American Magazine" for February, 1836, vol. ii. p. 237. This periodical was edited in part by our associate, Mr. Sibley.*



Mr. HORACE E. SCUDDER, who had just returned from a summer's journey to Norway and Sweden, was called upon. He asked to be excused from speaking of the pleasures of

* The view here given is reduced one-third from the picture in the Magazine. — Eds.

his visit, on the ground that he was not expecting to be called up. He presented, however, for the Cabinet, a photograph of the old mill at Chesterton, in Warwickshire, which Dr. Palfrey thinks may have been the prototype of the mill at Newport, Rhode Island, and spoke of his visit to it.

The Rev. HENRY F. JENKS called attention to an error in the last volume of the Society's Proceedings :—

On page 436 of the last volume of the Proceedings of this Society it is said, in reference to the pulpit of the old church in Brattle Square, that it was presented to the church by Governor Bowdoin.

That this is incorrect will be seen by a reference to page 101 of Dr. Lothrop's History of Brattle Street Church, where it is said :—

"The most liberal subscriptions were those of Governor Hancock and Governor Bowdoin. The latter gave £200. The former gave £1,000, reserving to himself 'the particular disposition of the sum and the beginning and completing a mahogany pulpit, with its full furniture, a mahogany deacon's seat, and the communion table, under his own direction.' . . ."

Governor Bowdoin presented to the Society the clock which hung on the front of the organ gallery, and bore his name. This clock, with other property of the church deposited in the warehouse of one of its deacons, was destroyed in the great Boston Fire of 1872.

Mr. GEORGE DEXTER communicated the following remarks on the first voyage under Sir Humphrey Gilbert's patent, of 1578 :—

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's interest in maritime discoveries and in the settlement of colonies in the new-found countries is well known. He will always be ranked, with Raleigh, as the great promoter of American colonization. Thirteen years older than his half-brother, he may perhaps be said to have laid the plans which Raleigh afterward improved and came very near carrying to a successful issue.

Among the documents in the English State Paper Office is a letter or petition from Gilbert to the Queen, with proposals for undertaking the discovery of a passage to Cataia,

dated as early as 1567.* And again, in 1574, having passed most of the intervening years in military service (in Ireland, where his bravery was rewarded by the honor of knighthood, Jan. 1, 1570, and in the Netherlands), he, with Sir George Peckham, Christopher Carlile, Sir Richard Grenville, and others, petitions the Queen to allow an enterprise for the discovery of "sundry ritche and unknowen landes."† There is preserved, also, among the State Papers, a curious discourse, dated Nov. 6, 1577, "how Hir Majestie may annoy the King of Spayne," the signature to which, obliterated with a pen, has been supposed to be Gilbert's. The author proposes to fit out a fleet, under pretence of a voyage of discovery, and to destroy the Spanish trade in Newfoundland and the West Indies.‡

More than a year before the date of this "Discourse," however, another, of which Gilbert was the undisputed author, was published. It is entitled "A Discovrse of a Discouerie for a new Passage to Cataia," and was published, as the titlepage shows, April 12, 1576. This is the well-known discourse reproduced by Hakluyt in 1589.§

* There is really no date to this paper, but the editor of the Calendar, Mr. Robert Lemon, assigns it to February, 1567. The discovery was to be performed in four voyages under certain privileges to endure for ten years, commencing "March come twelvemonth, 1568." See Calendar State Papers, Domestic, 1547-80, p. 288; and *Addenda to Domestic Series*, 1566-79, pp. 27, 28.

† Cal. St. Papers, Dom. 1547-80, p. 476. This petition is dated March 22, 1574, and, under the same date, a letter was sent by these same gentlemen to the Earl of Lincoln, Lord High Admiral, with detailed specifications of the advantages to be gained by their proposed voyage, whose aim was to be south of the equinoctial line. At page 520 of this volume of the Calendar is a writ from the Admiralty Court, dated March 28, 1576, for the recovery of goods taken from five British ships wrecked on the Sussex coast, "richlye laden with merchandizes from the Southe partes." Mr. Lemon conjectures that this may refer to the return of the expedition. But I can find no supporting evidence.

‡ Cal. St. Papers, *ibid.* p. 565. Mr. J. A. St. John gives in his "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh" (2d. ed. pp. 14-18), some account of this document. He appears to have examined it carefully. He says that the obliterated signature is Gilbert's, but he is himself of opinion that Raleigh was the author.

§ A copy of this rare book of Sir Humphrey Gilbert is in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence. It is carefully described by Mr. Bartlett, in his catalogue, vol. i. pp. 258, 259, with a *fac-simile*, slightly reduced, of the still rarer map. The book was given to the press by George Gascoigne, the poet, who prefixes an epistle to the reader, and a sonnet. It was published without Gilbert's knowledge or consent. The discourse is found in Hakluyt, ed. 1589, pp. 597-610; ed. 1600, vol. iii. pp. 11-24.

Watt, in his "Bibliotheca Britannica," gives, under Gilbert, the title of another book, "A true report of the late Discoveries and possession taken in the right of the Crown of England to the new found Lands. London, 1583, 4to." This is, of course, a mistake, as Gilbert sailed on his fatal voyage, June 11, and was lost September 9 of that year. The book which Watt cites is doubtless Sir George Peckham's tract, published in that year. The titles agree very nearly, and Peckham's book has Gilbert's name on the titlepage, while the author's appears only in the signature of his initials to the dedication.

Gilbert obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent, dated June 11, 1578, by which he was granted the right to discover and colonize any new lands not actually in the possession of a Christian prince or people, and was given all the usual rights and privileges of lord of the soil, a royalty of the fifth part of the precious metals found being reserved to the Crown.

The accounts of the first voyage undertaken under this patent in the modern biographies of Gilbert and of Raleigh are quite confused, and contradictory. There is no unanimity of statement of even so important a fact as the date of the expedition, some placing it in 1578, others a year later. It would appear that either no one of these writers has been in possession of all the authorities for the voyage, or that none of them has collated these authorities with sufficient care to bring out a clear account of it. It is my purpose to reproduce here all these authorities and references, arranging them in order, with the hope that their study may afford a more detailed story than can be found elsewhere.

The patent was dated June 11, 1578, and naturally preparations were at once made for a voyage.* The first word we get of the fleet is the notice of its intended departure. Sir Humphrey writes from Greenway, his home, "a little mile above the town of Dartmouth,"† Sept. 23, 1578, to Secretary Walsingham, "has sailed from Dartmouth on the 23d, with a fleet of eleven ships and five hundred able men for his intended voyage. Desires Walsingham to keep him in her Majesty's good favor and credit."‡ The start, if made at this time, was a false one. There were soon disputes and disagreements among the captains, and the ships did not really get away on their voyage. Gilbert writes again to Walsingham from Plymouth, November 12, "com-

* Gilbert's patent is given at length by Hakluyt, vol. iii. pp. 135-137; and by Hazard, vol. i. pp. 24-28.

† Prince, *Worthies of Devon*, p. 416.

‡ Cal. St. Pap. Dom. 1547-80, p. 600. The identity of the dates of the letter and the day of departure may be a little perplexing. St. John, who examined the documents in the State Paper Office relating to this voyage, says that the fleet, "though ready for sea as early as the end of September" (*Life of Raleigh*, p. 20), did not start until two months later. Perhaps the *has sailed*, the words not of Gilbert but of the person who epitomized the letter for the Calendar, may be a mistake, and the letter may mean only that every thing was ready for the sailing. In the Calendar of Domestic Papers, *Addenda*, 1566-79, pp. 548, 549, there is a letter from Henry Killigrew to William Davison, from Hendon, Oct. 10, 1578. Mr. Killigrew had just returned from a visit to Cornwall and Devonshire, and as part of the little news from the West writes, "Sir Humphrey Gilbert with his ten ships set forward on 25th September, but I know not whither."

plains of Mr. Knollys's unkind and ill dealing towards him and other gentlemen in Devonshire, and of his separating company on the voyage. His fleet, however, of seven sail is sufficiently large to accomplish his business." * Six days afterward, on the 18th, he writes, still from Plymouth, "sends a certificate of the causes of Mr. Knollys's departure from him to be shown to the Queen and the Council. His cousin Denny accompanies Knollys in this breach." With this letter was enclosed "the certificate of the causes why Mr. Henry Knollys quitted the company of Sir H. Gylberte as alleged before the Mayor of Plymouth and other gentlemen." † Some of the particulars of Knollys's conduct are stated by Mr. St. John. He says that the whole town of Plymouth was filled with brawl and riot ; that Knollys was insolent to Gilbert and insubordinate.‡ Knollys sailed, November 18, with his ships and followers, on an independent expedition of adventure or piracy. Gilbert is said to have sailed the next day. He, with Raleigh and the rest, did certainly start about this time.§ Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother of Sir Humphrey, writes to Walsingham from Exeter, December 20, "The fleet under the command of Sir H. Gylberte was well provisioned and victualled for a voyage of one year. One ship left behind because it leaked." ||

It is impossible to give much account of the voyage itself. There exists no printed narrative by any of the sharers in its dangers and reverses. From the authorities that we have it is to be supposed that Gilbert and Raleigh parted company, that each had a fight with the Spaniard in which neither was very successful, and that they returned to England at different times.

Captain Edward Haies, who wrote an account of Gilbert's voyage of 1583, speaks thus of this earlier attempt:—

* Cal. St. Papers, *ib.* p. 605.

† *Ibid.* The certificate is signed by William Hawkyns, Walter Rauley, and others

‡ St. John's Raleigh, pp. 20, 21.

§ St. John says, p. 22, that "On the 19th of November Gilbert, with seven ships and three hundred and fifty men, set sail from Plymouth." He cites as his authority, "Gilbert to Walsingham, Nov. 12, 1578, State Paper Office." Of course Gilbert cannot have written that he sailed on the 19th seven days before that date. The calendar, however, p. 605, names, under dates November 18 and 19, what I suppose are two separate papers: "The names of all the ships, officers, and gentlemen, with the pieces of ordnance, &c., gone in the voyage with Sir Humfrey Gylberte, Captain Walter Rauley commanding the Falcon: also the names of the ships, officers, and gentlemen who went with Mr. Henry Knollys on the 18th November."

|| Cal. St. Papers, *ib.* p. 609.

"When first Sir Humfrey Gilbert undertooke the Western discovery of America, and had procured from her majesty a very large commission to inhabit and possesse at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many priuileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew vnto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow vnto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a king's power by sea: neuertheless amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were diuers, which bred a jarre, and made a diuision in the end, to the confusion of that attempt euen before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a maner prepared, and men ready upon the coast to go aboard; at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended; others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he aduentured to sea; where hauing tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driuen to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his grieve) of a valiant gentleman, Miles Morgan."*

Of Sir Walter Raleigh's adventures in this voyage we have more particulars. John Hooker, who edited the second edition of that portion of Holinshed's Chronicles which relates to Ireland, with a continuation, was a relation of Raleigh and dedicated his work to him. In his "Epistle Dedicatorie" he writes:—

"For after that you had seasoned your primer yeares at Oxford in knowledge and learning, a good ground and a sure foundation to build therevpon all your good actions, you trauelled into France, and spent there a good part of your youth in the warres and martiall seruices. And hauing some sufficient knowledge and experience therein, then after your returne from thense, to the end you might euerie waie be able to serue your prince and commonweale you were desirous to be acquainted in maritimall affaires. Then you, together with your brother Sir Humfreie Gilbert, trauelled the seas, for the search of such countries, as which if they had beene then discovered, infinit commodities in sundrie respects would have insued, and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanieng you, had according to appointment followed you, or your selfe had escaped the dangerous sea fight, when manie of your companie were slaine, and your ships therewith also sore battered and disabled."†

A still fuller account is given by the editors of Holinshed's

* Haies in Hakluyt, vol. iii. pp. 145, 146.

† Holinshed's Chronicles, ed. 1807-8, vol. vi. pp. 106, 107.

second edition, when they come to mention the expedition sent out by Raleigh under the command of Captains Amadas and Barlow, in 1584. After relating briefly that voyage "with direction to discover that land which lieth betwene Norembega and Florida in the west Indies," the Chronicle continues:—

"This countrie of Norembega aforesaid (and the land on this side of it) Sir Humfrie. Gilbert, brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, a man both valiant and well experienced in martiall affaires, did attempt to discover, with intention to settle an English colonie there in the yeare 1578: hauing in his companie his two brethren Walter and Carew Raleighs, Henrie Knolles, George Carew, William Careie, Edward Dennie, Henrie Nowell, Miles Morgan, Francis Knolles, Henrie North, and diuerse other gentlemen of good calling, and ten sailles of all sorts of shipping, well and sufficientlie furnished for such an enterprise, weighed anchor in the west countrie, and set to the sea. But God not fauoring his attempt, the journeie tooke no good successe; for all his ships inforced by some occasion or mischance, made their present returne againe: that onelie excepted wherein his brother Walter Raleigh was capteine, who being desirous to doo somewhat worthie honor, tooke his course for the West Indies, but for want of vittels and other necessaries (needful in so long a viage) when he had sailed as far as the Ilands of Cape de Verde upon the coast of Affrica, was inforced to set saile and returne for England. In this his viage he passed manie dangerous aduentures, as well by tempests as fights on the sea; but lastlie he arriued safelie at Plymouth in the west countrie in Maie next following."*

From this it appears that Raleigh returned to Plymouth in May, 1579. There is evidence that Gilbert had returned earlier, how much earlier it is not possible to say precisely. Preparations were making for a renewal of the voyage before Raleigh's return. Mr. Edwards states that the Lords of the

* "This extract from Holinshed has not, I think, been cited before. I take it from the edition of 1807-8, vol. iv. p. 534, but have compared it with the earlier edition. Holinshed's Chronicle was first published in 1577, a year before this expedition was undertaken. A second edition, in three volumes, folio, was published in 1586-87, after the death of Holinshed. This was prepared, and the Chronicle continued to its date by Abraham Fleming, John Stow, and others. Into this second edition new matter was interpolated freely. The insertions are all, however, properly marked at beginning and end, and their sources indicated in the margin. The source from which this account of Raleigh's voyages was obtained is designated *A. F. ex add. G. C.* A. F. is of course Fleming, who furnished much material to the new edition, wrote the preface to the historical part of the Chronicle, and prepared the indexes. I cannot identify G. C. If these are the initials of any of the persons named in the account of the earlier voyage the choice rests between George Carew and William Carey, according as we read in English or Latin. The edition of 1807-8 is an exact reprint in six handsome quarto volumes of the second edition.

Council wrote to Gilbert, April 26, "to revoke him from his intended journey at the seas, for seeking of foreign countries; or if he shall proceed in it, [then to direct] that he put in sureties for his good behaviour." Gilbert, he says, was just putting out to sea, and answered through his brother, Sir John, that he "could not, without great loss, stay." But he was detained by contrary winds, and while still in port was again enjoined from his enterprise. The Privy Council order Sir John Gilbert to return a Spanish bark taken by some of Sir Humphrey's men, and add: "for that their Lordships are advised your brother Sir Humphrey is not yet departed; and that your brother Walter Rawley is returned to Dartmouth; like as their Lordships have written to the Sheriffs, Vice-Admiral, and Justices of that county to command them both to stay; so you are required friendly to advise them to surcease from proceeding any further, and to remain at home to answer such as have been, by their company, damaged." *

These orders from the Council appear to have been effective enough to break up the proposed renewal of the voyage. I get no trace of the sailing of either Gilbert or Raleigh in the year 1579, and there can be little doubt that the expedition was abandoned so far as America was concerned. Raleigh soon took military service in Ireland under the Lord Justice, Sir William Pelham, who was succeeded in the command by Lord Grey of Wilton, as Lord Deputy. Returning from this service about the close of the year 1581, he repaired to Court and rose rapidly in favor.

Gilbert probably preceded Raleigh to Ireland, where he had done good service some years before. The Privy Council remonstrances may have been accompanied with, or speedily followed by, inducements to enter the service of the Crown against the Irish, who had again raised the standard of revolt under the leadership of James Fitzmaurice. Fitzmaurice landed at Smerwick in the beginning of July, bringing with him from Spain about fourscore Spaniards and a few English-

* Edwards's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp 78, 79. He cites from the Register Book of the Privy Council, Elizabeth, vol. iv. pp. 461, 492, 493, *et seq.* Curiously enough, Mr. Edwards makes these remonstrances apply to the beginning of the voyage, which he thinks took place in 1579, being apparently ignorant of the existence of the papers in the State Paper Office; while Mr. St. John, unaware of these Privy Council entries, makes the voyage last from November, 1578, to the end of the following spring or beginning of the summer. An entry on the Council book, cited by Edwards as the first mention of Raleigh's name there (p. 87), charging him and his brother "in her Majesty's name to remain on land and to surcease proceedings in their enterprize," bears date May 29, 1579. This date tallies with the statement in Holinshed that Raleigh returned in May.

men and Irishmen.* Gilbert had three ships employed in the Irish service as early as the 21st of July. Their names were the "Anne Auchier," the "Relief," and the "Squirrel," and these vessels may quite possibly have shared in the exploring voyage of the previous year.† A commission was issued to him by the Lord Justice, Sir William Drury, and the Council, at Dublin, July 24, with instructions, "to take up ships and prosecute James Fitzmaurice."‡ Other notices of Gilbert's service in Ireland are to be found in the Calendars of Irish State Papers. He seems to have had some difficulty and dispute with one Sir Owen O'Sullivan, whom he suspected of harboring some reinforcement to Fitzmaurice's train.§ I do not know when Gilbert left Ireland. There is a letter from him to Secretary Walsingham, written from Minster in Sheppey, July 11, 1581, wherein he "desires payment of the little sum of money remaining due to him for service of his three ships in Ireland. Has been reduced to utter want by his losses there. It is a miserable thing that after seven-and-twenty years' service he should now be subject to daily arrests, executions, and outlawries, and to sell his wife's clothes from her back."|| Captain Edward Haies, in the earlier part of his narrative of the fatal expedition of 1583 says, after speaking of the voyage of 1578:—

"Hauing buried onely in a preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impaired, his minde yet not dismaied, he continued his former designment and purpose to reuiue this enterprise good occasion seruing. Upon which determination standing long without meanes to satisfy his desire, at last he granted certaine assignments out of his cōmission to sundry persons of meane ability desiring the priuilege of his grant, to plant and fortifie in the North parts of America about the riuier of Canada to who if God gaue good successe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected), the same (he thought) would greatly aduance the hope of the South and

* Holinshed's Chronicles, 1807-8, vol. vi. p. 406.

† Cal. St. Papers, Irish, 1574-85, p. 192. The reckoning in the Auditor's book was for service from July 21 to Oct. 16, 1579. The "Anne Auchier" was named for Lady Gilbert, whose name was Anne Aucher, or, as it is sometimes spelled, Ager.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 175.

§ See State Papers, Ireland, 1574-85, pp. 198, 202; and Carew, 1575-88, pp. 175, 176, 185.

|| Cal. St. Papers, Domestic, 1581-90, p. 22. He urges the same request from Westminster, October 25. See Cal. Ireland, 1574-85, p. 826. The manor of Minster in the Isle of Sheppey is spoken of in January, 1583, as Lady Gilbert's only stay left to live by during her husband's proposed absence. Cal. St. Papers, Domestic, 1581-90, p. 94.

be a furtherance vnto his determination that way . . . Time went away without any thing done by his assignees." *

There is no need to linger upon the story of Gilbert's final and fatal expedition in 1583. This story is narrated at length by one of the party, Edward Haies, captain of the "Golden Hind," the only one of the five vessels which returned to England. It is set forth in all our histories and school-books. Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed from Causand Bay, near Plymouth, June 11; took formal possession of the country (Newfoundland) August 5; and was lost in a storm on the return voyage, September 9. "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land."

The Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER spoke of some points relating to President Garfield's ancestry : —

Mr. President, I am sure the members of this Society will take an interest in some letters which have lately come into my hands, written by our lamented President. They relate to his family history, as far as he was himself able to trace it, and were addressed to a relative of his, at present residing in Lexington.

Before reading the letters, permit me to supply from other sources a few facts which will serve to shed additional light upon the subject. It is very gratifying to us to know that our President came from good old Massachusetts stock, being a direct descendant in the ninth generation from Edward Garfield, one of the early settlers of Watertown.

According to Dr. Bond, this Edward and his son, Edward Garfield, Jr.,† must both have come from the old country.

* Haies in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 146. The only assignment of Gilbert's patent I find mentioned is one to Sir Thomas Gerrard and Sir George Peckham. These gentlemen, certainly not "persons of meane ability," ask Secretary Walsingham for permission for certain persons to quit England, stating that Sir Humphrey Gilbert has assigned to them his patent for the discovery and conquest of heathen lands. Cal. St. Pap. Domestic, 1547-80, p. 695. There is no date to the letter, but the editor refers it to 1580.

† The record here is obscure. Dr. Bond's theory that there were two Edwards, father and son, is a reasonable and, at first sight, almost a necessary one; but the town records, which are well preserved, do not explicitly support such a theory. They frequently mention the name of Edward Garfield (without any distinction) as Selectman in 1638, 1655, and 1662, and as constable even as late as 1661, when the entry occurs, "Ould Garfeild and Willi Bond are chosen constables for this yeare ensewing." He was called old not necessarily to distinguish him from a younger Garfield, but perhaps simply on account of his great age, for he must have been about 86 that year, as it is legibly recorded

Edward, Jr., was admitted freeman in 1635, and served as Selectman in 1638, 1655, and 1662. In the original allotments of land, his name appears as a grantee in different sections of the town, and afterward he purchased a large forty-acre lot which had belonged to the Rev. George Phillips, Watertown's first minister, and which was adjacent to land granted to Sir Richard Saltonstall. The property is known in our day as the Governor Gore place.

Benjamin Garfield, born in 1643, the fourth child of Edward, Jr., was a noted *Benjamin Garfield* man in his day; being repeatedly elected to the principal town offices, and serving nine terms as Representative to the General Court between 1689 and 1717. He was also captain of the militia. He married, first, Mehitabel Hawkins, whose gravestone in the old Watertown burying-ground is inscribed as follows:—

MEHETABEL · GEARFEILD
The · Wife · of · BENJAMIN
GEARFEILD · Aged · 25 y^r
and · Deceased · the · 9 Day
of · the · 9 Month · 1675

Captain Garfield's second wife was Elizabeth (mother of Thomas, below), daughter of Matthew *Elizabeth Gearfield* Bridge. She outlived him, and married, 1720, Daniel Harrington, of Lexington.

Captain Benjamin died in 1717. His grave may be found near the upper corner of the old Waltham burying-ground on Main Street, near Beaver Brook. It is marked by a good-

in 1672 that "Edward Gearfeild dyed the 14 of June aged about 97." And there is no record of the death of any other Edward at that time.

His first wife (if this be he), Rebecca, the mother of his children, "dyed the 16 of Aprill [1661] aged about 55." And "Edward Gearfeild and Johannah Buckmaster wear maryed 1. 7"; i. e., Sept. 1, 1661. The will of Edward, taken from the Probate files, is given at the end of this paper. It is a quaint document, and shows that the testator (the father of Samuel, Joseph, Rebecca, Abigail, and Benjamin) was in feeble health, and not able to write his name in 1668, or four years before his recorded death at the age of 97. The writer therefore ventures to suggest that there was but one Edward, and that many of his public services, as well as his second marriage, transpired when he was far advanced in years. Instances might be quoted in our own time of similar services and marriages at as great an age.

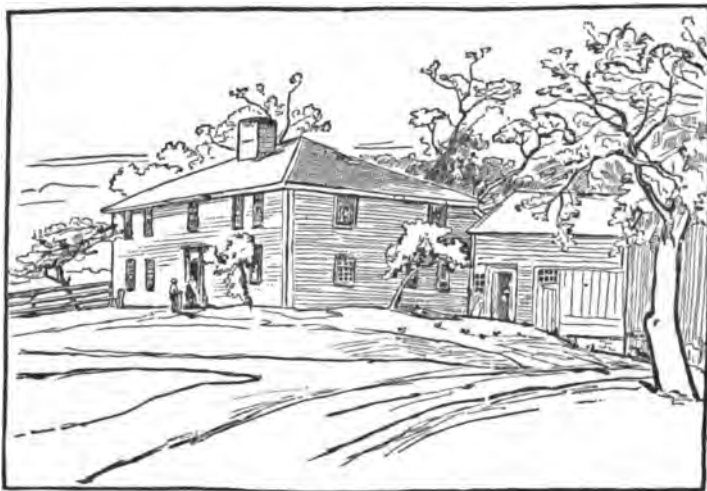
If this theory be correct, the President must be counted as a descendant in the eighth, and not the ninth, generation from the first Garfield in this country.

sized, thick slab of slate-stone, ornamented with a winged head and scroll work, and bears the inscription: —

Here Lyes Buried the
Body of Cap^t BENJAMIN
GEARFEILD Aged 74 Year
Who Departed This Life
November the 28 1717

Blessed are the Dead that Die in the Lord.

The Captain had eight children, of whom the fourth was Lieutenant (sometimes called Captain) Thomas Garfield, born 1680, who established his home in that part of Weston which, in 1754, was incorporated with portions of Lexington and Concord as the town of Lincoln. His fine old homestead



THE GARFIELD HOUSE IN LINCOLN.*

may still be seen about one mile directly south of the centre of Lincoln, standing half way between the Weston road and Beaver Pond, and approached by a lane, shaded by pine trees. It is a large, square, two-story farm-house of the better sort, with the usual capacious chimney in the centre. I drove over

* Drawn by E. G. Champney.

there with a friend one day this week, and I am free to say that for beauty of situation, ample farm accessories, and the general air of rural comfort, I do not know of a place anywhere in the vicinity more desirable as a residence.

The house is now temporarily occupied by Mr. Frank Wheeler, but until within a few years it was in the possession of the Fiske family, who were descendants of the Garfields.

Lieutenant Thomas married, 1706, Mercy Bigelow, of the well-known Watertown family.

They had twelve children, of whom the third was Thomas Garfield, Jr., who was born in 1713.

He married, 1742, Rebecca Johnson, of Lunenburg, and, with his father and his brother John,* he was in 1747 among the twenty-five founders of the First Church of Lincoln. Thomas, Jr.,† was, like his father, a lieutenant in his town's company. The military spirit at that time was growing rapidly, and Abram Garfield, youngest son of this Thomas, participated in the fight at Concord Bridge, as will appear in one of the following letters.

The graves of Thomas, Jr., his wife Rebecca, and son Abram, may be seen in the old graveyard on the hill near the Lincoln church, marked by the tall slate-stone slabs of the period, and inscribed as follows: —

— *Memento Mori* —

In Memory of Mr.
THOMAS GEARFIELD
Who departed this
Life January 3^d
1774 In the 62^d
Year of his age.

The Sin of Adam's laid me low
For Sin hath wrought an overthrow,
From dust I came to dust I'm come
And now the dust becomes my home
When Christ comes down with Saints to reign
The dust me no more shall detain.

* Town treasurer of Lincoln in 1759 and 1760. John Garfield and Thankful his wife are buried in the lower cemetery at Lincoln, near the British soldiers' grave.

† Selectman in 1759, and town treasurer in 1770.

Here lyes y^e Body of
Mrs REBECCA GEARFIELD
 Consort to Mr.
THOMAS GEARFIELD
 Who departed this Life
 Feb^r the 3 1763 in y^e
 43^d Year of Her Age.

She was Virtuous in Life & Submissive at Death.

In Memory of Mr.
ABRAHAM GEARFIELD
 Son of Mr **THOMAS**
GARFIELD and Mrs
REBECCA his wife
 Who departed this
 Life Augt 15th 1775 In
 the 28 year of his age.

Under these clods my Body doth lie
 Though in my prime yet I must die
 It was Gods will it should be so
 Therefore take warning all below.

In consequence of the elevation of General Garfield to the Presidency, and especially since the excitement attending his assassination, these graves of his ancestors have become the object of tender interest to the people of Lincoln. On the sad funeral Monday, after appropriate services at church, they assembled in the cemetery, and by the hands of the children strewed flowers in profusion around these ancient and now honored graves.

It is not necessary that I should say more to complete the connection between the early ancestors of the President and those of whom he himself speaks in the following letters. I will only add that Solomon Garfield, born 1743, the President's great-grand-father, was the son of Thomas, Jr., whose epitaph is given above. While a young man, Solomon removed to Westminster,* in this State. His

Solomon Garfield

* For a fuller account of Solomon and his family at Westminster, see the paper upon President Garfield's New England ancestry, since read by Senator Hoar at the October meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, and to be published with that Society's Proceedings.

name appears in the list of Captain Noah Miles's company, which marched from that town to Cambridge on hearing of the events of the 19th of April, 1775.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 8, 1872

MY DEAR SIR, — You can hardly imagine the pleasure which your letter of the 3d instant has given me. You will better understand why, when I tell you the causes which have so nearly shut me off from any knowledge of my ancestry.

My father moved into the wild woods of Ohio before he was twenty years of age, and died when he was thirty-three, and of course when his children were all small, and I, the youngest, but an infant.

Separated thus from the early home of our father, we had but scanty means of obtaining any thing like accurate information of his ancestry. The most I knew, until quite recently, were the family traditions retained in the memory of my mother, as she had heard them from father and his mother.

Before giving you any of the later facts which have come to my knowledge, I will copy from a memorandum I wrote in 1858, as to facts given me by my mother. Here it is:—

I. Solomon Garfield (son of Thomas Garfield) came from the town of Weston, Massachusetts, to Worcester,* Otsego County, New York, where he spent the latter part of his life, and died about 1807, by an accidental fall from a beam in his barn. His wife, my mother thinks, was a Miss Lucy Brown,† from Boston or near Boston, but of the name she is not perfectly certain. Your record says she was Sarah Stimson.

But little was known of Solomon's father's family beyond one positive and one supposed fact. For a reason you will see presently it was known that he had one brother by the name of Abraham. It was supposed that Solomon's father's name was Thomas.

II. To Solomon and his wife there were born in Worcester,‡ Otsego County, New York, the following

Children:—

1. Thomas, b. 1774, d. 1801, Worcester, New York.
2. Solomon.
3. Rebecca.
4. Hannah.
5. Lucy.

* Not directly. He removed from Lincoln about 1770 to Westminster, Massachusetts, where he resided at least until 1788. — E. G. P.

† Evidently a mistake. Lucy Garfield, sister of Solomon, married Nathan Brown, of Lincoln. — E. G. P.

‡ The children were all born in Westminster, Massachusetts. — E. G. P.

III. Thomas Garfield (1 above) married Asenath Hill of Schoharie County, New York, who was born 1778. To them were born in Worcester, New York,

Children:—

1. Polly, b. 1795.
2. Betsey, b. 1797.
3. Abraham, b. 1799, Dec. 28, and died in Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, May 3, 1833. He was my father.
4. Thomas, b. 1801, Nov. 19.

Of this family all are dead except Thomas, the youngest, who resides in Newburgh, near Cleveland, Ohio, and has a large family.

IV. Abraham Garfield (3 above) married Eliza Ballou, who was born in Richmond, New Hampshire, Sept. 21, 1801. They were married Feb. 3, 1820.

To them were born

Children:—

1. Mehitabel, b. Jan. 28, 1821. Still living.
2. Thomas, b. Oct. 16, 1822. " "
3. Mary, b. Oct. 19, 1824. " "
4. James Ballou, b. Oct. 21, 1826, and died Jan. 8, 1829.
5. James Abram, b. Nov. 19, 1831. (Myself.)

V. James A. Garfield (5 above) was married Nov. 11, 1858, to Lucretia Rudolph, of Hiram, Portage County, Ohio. To them were born

Children:—

1. Eliza Arabella, b. July 3, 1860, and died Dec. 3, 1863.
2. Harry Augustus, b. Oct. 11, 1863.
3. James Rudolph, b. Oct. 17, 1865.
4. Mary, b. Jan. 17, 1867.
5. Irvin McDowell, b. Aug. 3, 1870.

So much I can give you of my own knowledge, except the traditional accounts mentioned above.

My father Abraham was named after his great-uncle, the brother of his grandfather Solomon, and inherited, or should have inherited, a piece of land which the said great-uncle Abraham willed to Thomas, and [which was willed] by him to my father, for his name. It was this circumstance which brought down to us the fact of Solomon's having a brother of that name, though I will mention in passing that it did not bring the farm with it, as the early death of my father left the matter unsettled, and it lapsed.

During the last eighteen years I have, from time to time, picked up

fragmentary facts and traditions concerning our family and its origin. Many of these traditions are vague and no doubt worthless, but I have no doubt they have some truth in them.

One of them is that the family was originally from Wales. This tallies with what you say concerning the original Edward Garfield coming from the neighborhood of Chester, England. I stood on the walls of Chester a little more than four years ago, and looked out on the bleak mountains of Wales, whose northern boundary lay at my feet along the banks of the Dee. Possibly I was near our ancestral home. A Welsh scholar told me, not many years ago, that he had no doubt our family was connected with the builders of an old castle in Wales, long since in ruins, but still known as Gaerfili Castle.*

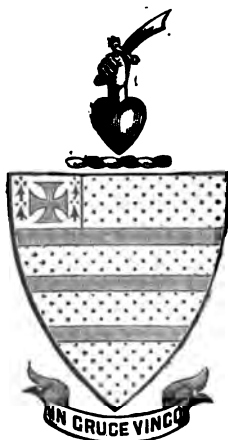
I give you this conjecture for what it is worth.

I have seen the family crest lude in your letter. It was years ago by the Rev. John Haven, Connecticut, and I it in a book of English her- have a spare copy of the cut, to receive it.†

While I was in college, at Massachusetts, in 1854 to 56, old Tyringham and Lee, in ty, Massachusetts, and there number of Garfields, some old residents of that neighborhood were the names Solomon which seemed to have continued family. I found that they the neighborhood of Boston.

In an old graveyard in Tyringham (now Monterey), I found the tombstone of Lieutenant Isaac Gearfield (for that I learn was the early spelling of the name), and on the stone was recorded 1755, as the date of his death. The family told me that he (Lieutenant Isaac) crossed the mountains into the wilderness of Western Massachusetts in about 1739, and slept the first night under his cart. Comparing this fact with your record, I should say that he was the same as the Isaac whom you put down as the fifth child of Lieutenant Thomas Garfield (No. IV.)‡ and the next younger brother of Thomas (the father of Solomon, my great-grandfather) and an older brother of Samuel, your great-grandfather.

Since writing the above I have obtained an old history of Berkshire



to which you al- shown me some Garfield, of New have since seen aldry. If you I should be glad

Williamstown, I went down to Berkshire County found a large twenty families, hood. Among and Thomas, ued along in the had come from

* An imposing pile of ruins near Cardiff, covering many acres, and spelled sometimes Caerphilly. — E. G. P.

† The steel die containing the coat-of-arms was sent to General Garfield, and will doubtless be found among his family papers. — E. G. P.

‡ Referring to a list of the earlier branches of the family taken from Bond's History of Watertown. — E. G. P.

County, Massachusetts, written by the Rev. David Dudley Field, and published in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in 1829.

On pages 277 to 280, I find the history of the organization and settlement of the town of Tyringham. From this account it appears that in 1735 the Legislature authorized the laying out of four new towns, each six miles square, the first of which towns was Tyringham. The historian says, "It was divided by lot, four of the proprietors being clergymen, and they drew the following lots:—

"Rev. William Williams of Weston drew Lot No. 38, now occupied by Daniel Garfield. . . . The settlement was commenced in 1739. In April of that year, Lieutenant Isaac Garfield and Thomas Slatom moved into Lot No. 1. . . . About 1750, John Jackson moved into the town from Weston, and persons by the name of Thomas and Orton . . . moved into it about the same time . . . The first log house in this section of the town (North Tyringham) was erected by Deacon Thomas Orton, about 1762, on the ground since owned and occupied by his son-in-law, Isaac Garfield."

You will see from these extracts that the settlement of Tyringham was begun by persons from Weston, and that the Garfields that came into Tyringham intermarried with families from Weston.

It seems to make the conclusion very strong that the Garfields were themselves from Weston. I have no doubt that the Lieutenant Isaac Garfield, whose tombstone I have mentioned above, is the Garfield named in the records of Watertown and Weston, referred to in your letter.

I am sure I do not need to apologize to you for this long letter, for if it gives you half the pleasure yours has given me, you will not tire of its length.

I beg you to write me any further details you may possess and any you may hereafter obtain.

Should you ever come to Washington while I am here, or into the neighborhood of my home at Hiram, Ohio, while I am there, consider yourself invited as a welcome guest.

Very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

E. I. GARFIELD, Esq.,
Comptroller's Office, DETROIT, MICH.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 8, 1878.

To ———

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 30th January came duly to hand. I gave it to ——— Garfield, with the request that he furnish such information as he could on the point referred to. I enclose you his note received to-day. The final "e" with which he spells his name is an affectation of his own, and I am sorry he uses it.

Very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 7, 1880.

E. I. GARFIELD, MT. AUBURN, MASS.

You have my thanks for your kind letter of the 5th instant, giving me the details of old family history, as found in Watertown and vicinity.

I have preserved your interesting letters on the subject written years ago, and shall take pleasure in adding to my stock of information any thing further you may send me.

My History of Watertown is in Ohio, and I am not certain, but I think there is no map in it, and if you will send me one I will be very glad, and will place it among my collection of papers and data in relation to the Garfield family. I am always glad to receive any information on this subject, at any convenient time.

Since our last correspondence on the subject, I found an interesting record in Journals of the Continental Congress. It is recorded there that John Hoar and Abram Garfield, both of Lincoln, made their affidavit,* which was printed by the Continental Congress, showing how the attack at Concord Bridge began. Both these men were in the fight at the bridge.

John Hoar was the grandfather † of the present Senator Hoar, and Abram Garfield was my great-uncle, after whom my father, Abram Garfield, was named, and from whom, through my father, I got my middle name.

I shall be glad to hear from you at any time.

Very truly yours,
J. A. GARFIELD.

MENTOR, OHIO, Jan'y 19, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 15th instant came duly to hand. The pen to which you refer has not yet come.

I have read with interest your additional memoranda concerning the Garfields of Massachusetts, and also your — communication in reference to —

Mr. E. I. GARFIELD.
EAST LEXINGTON, MASS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, July 1, 1881.‡

DEAR SIR, — The pressure upon the President's time prevents him from sending a personal response to your note of the 30th ultimo. He directs me, therefore, to acknowledge its receipt and to say that it is impossible at this time for him to tell whether he will be able to spare

* See depositions taken at Lexington, April 23, 1775, by authority of the Provincial Congress. — E. G. P.

† Great-grandfather. — E. G. P.

‡ This letter was written late Friday evening, July 1, and postmarked "Washington, July 2, 1 P. M.," three hours after the assassination. It must, therefore, have been one of the very last written or dictated by the President. — E. G. P.

the time to make the trip you propose. He expects to be at Concord, Massachusetts, for a short time, and if it is possible for him to go to Watertown he will be glad to do so, but cannot tell certainly about it until he reaches Concord.

Expressing the President's cordial thanks for your courtesy,

I am yours very respectfully,

J. STANLEY BROWN,

Private Secretary.

Mr. E. I. GARFIELD,

27 Franklin St., Boston, Mass.

It is well known that the President was anticipating great pleasure in his projected trip to New England, upon which he had just started when he was stricken down by the hand of the assassin. It was his intention, after visiting his *Alma Mater* at Williamstown and making a brief tour of the mountains, to fulfil a long-cherished desire of seeing the early homes and graves of his ancestors, and the adjacent historical sites made famous by the events of April 19, 1775.

" This is ye last will of Edward Garfeild."

[Dec. 30, 1668.]

I, EDWARD GARFEILD of Watertown being sick in body yet through gods goodnes sound in my memory, doe declare this to be my last will and testament as followeth:

Inpri. I give and bequeeth unto my son Samuell Garfeild tenn pounds to be paid in corne or catle within one year after my decease: and forty akers of my land: lieng on the side of Prospect hill: and a peece of meddow containeing aboute two akers and a halfe and being on the east side of Stony brooke: the same peece of meddow which ye s^d Samuell have made use already for diverse years with my allowance: provided ye s^d Samuell alows a cart way through ye s^d peece of meddow to my meddow on the other side of Stony brooke: also I give unto ye s^d Samuell all my wearing cloathes and my great bible: now the reason why I give no more to my s^d son Samuell is because he marieng many years ago I have formerly given him both land and other estate.

2^{dly}. I give unto my son Joseph Garfeild ye house and land which he now lives in: ye land containing about nine and twenty akers: also I give unto ye s^d Joseph ten akers of meddow lieng on the farther side of Chesters brooke westward comainely called plaine meddow: also I give unto ye s^d Joseph my farne as also a maare colt of about a year old.

3^{dly}. I give unto my daughter Rebecka Mixter twenty pounds to be paid her in corne or catle within two years after my descees: as also two pewter platters.

4^{thly}. I give unto my daughter Abigall Garfeild twenty pounds, tenn pound to be paid at the time of her mariage and tenn pounds to be paid two years after: but if ye s^d Abigall shall die unmarried, then my will yt ye s^d twenty pounds be eequally divided to Samuell Garfeild

my son and Joseph Garfeild my son: and Benjamin Garfeild my son and Rebecka Mixter my daughter: and if ye s^d Abigall do live unmarried yt then my will is she shall be allowed five and twenty shillings a yeere so long as she lives unmarried. Allso I give unto ye s^d Abigall a fether bed and boulder with a rugg and two blankets and one pewter platter.

5^{thly}. I give unto my grandchild Sara Parkhust one ewe sheepe and an ewe lamb.

6^{thly}. I give unto Sara Garfeild my grandchild seven pounds provided she serves oute her time: but if she serves not oute her time then my will is yt she shall have but fifty shillings only:

7^{thly}. I give unto Ephraim Garfeild my grandchild two cows to be paid within three years after my desceese.

8^{thly}. I give and bequeeth unto my beloved wife a cow which my s^d wife shall have liberty to choose among all mi cattle.

Allso I allow unto my s^d wife five pound a yeer as long as she lives, for which my wife had a bond of mee before mariage:

ye s^d five pound to be paid in wheet and peese and ry and indian by eequal proportion: (if my executor have them growing) at contry price at such place in Cambridge as my s^d wife shall apoynt: allso my will is yt my s^d wife shall if she please continue in my house: she shall have ye new bed chamber for her use with all the furnature in it, for ye space of seven month: as allso a sufficiency of fier wood for her owne particular burning: allso my will is that my beloved wife above s^d and my daughter Abigall above s^d and my maid Ann should enjoy the benefit of what flax or hemp or wool there shall be in my house at my desceese: and allso yt they are to live at ye charge of my estate for ye space of seven months as above s^d.

As an adition to my beloved wivs legace my will is yt she shall enjoy a fether bed and boulder and two litle pillows which weare of her owne makeing: allso a wooline wheele and a linin wheele.

Allso I doe nominate and apoynt my loveing son Benjamin Garfeild executor^a to this my will and testament: to receive all due to mee: and to pay all my just debts.

Thus rezineing my spirit to god yt gave it, and my body to ye dust from whence it was takin: I declare this to be my last will and testament: and doe hereunto set my hand this thirtieth day of Decem. one thousand six hundred sixty and eight: desireing my loveing frends Nathan Fisk senior and William Bond senior to se that this my will be performed.

Edward Garfeild did owne this to bee his will and did subscribe to it on ye day and yeer ^{as} above s^d as testifieth

NATHAN FISKE. WILLIAM BOND.

The marke of
EDWARD X GARFEILD.

Taken upon oath 11.5. 1672.

{ W^m. BOND & NATHAN FISKE.

Before Capt. DANIEL GOOKIN

And THOMAS DANFORTH. R.

The Rev. Dr. PAIGE spoke of some errors in an article published in the Boston "Evening Transcript," Oct. 5, 1881, concerning the Danforth Family :—

"Rev. Nicholas Danforth, the ancestor of most of the Danforths in the United States, emigrated to this country in 1634, bringing with him three sons and two daughters. He died four years after his arrival here in 1638. His sons, Thomas and Samuel, were graduates of Harvard College and became eminent in Church and State. Thomas was for many years governor of Massachusetts Colony, and Samuel a noted clergyman, settled in Roxbury, Mass. Jonathan settled in Billerica, Mass., and was a land-surveyor and captain of a militia company," &c.

There are some mistakes in this account. There is no evidence on the records of Cambridge, where Nicholas Danforth resided, that he was a clergyman, but there are distinct intimations to the contrary. He was one of the townsmen (or selectmen) three years, and deputy (or representative) in the General Court two years; which offices, at that period, were not conferred on clergymen. Moreover, he was the first person "allowed to sell wine and strong water" in Cambridge, March 12, 1637-8. This privilege was granted to none but grave and respectable citizens; but it was not regarded as a suitable perquisite of a clergyman.

If it be suggested that Mr. Danforth was a clergyman in England, and therefore should be styled "Rev.," although he might not have performed any clerical duties in America, it should be remembered that Cotton Mather describes him as "a gentleman of such estate and repute in the *world*, that it cost him a considerable sum to escape the knighthood which King Charles I. imposed on all of so much per annum; and of such figure and esteem in the *church*, that he procured that famous lecture at Framlingham in Suffolk, where he had a fine manor."* It is not probable that King Charles would desire to confer knighthood on a Puritan minister; and if Mr. Danforth had been a preacher, or even a lecturer, Dr. Mather would not have failed to mention it in this eulogy.

Although there is no probability that he was a clergyman, Mr. Danforth was doubtless a man of eminent ability, and one of the comparatively few who in his day were styled "Mr." But his residence here was so short, that he is chiefly known to us as the ancestor of others who attained even

* *Magnalia*, B. IV. ch. iii. § 1.

higher eminence. What is said in the notice of the Danforth Family concerning his sons Samuel and Jonathan is true ; and it might have been added, that his daughter Elizabeth was the grandmother of Governor Jonathan Belcher. It is not true, however, that his son Thomas was a "graduate of Harvard College," nor was he ever "governor of the Massachusetts Colony." But he was more than a graduate, and more than a governor. He rendered faithful service to the town, as Clerk, Selectman, and general manager of affairs ; to the college, as Steward and Treasurer ; to the county, as Register of Deeds, Register of Probate, and Clerk of the Courts ; and to the colony, as Representative, Assistant, Deputy-governor, Judge of the Superior (Supreme) Judicial Court, President of Maine, and Commissioner of the United Colonies. In addition to all these public services, he rendered another of even more importance, involving the hazard of property and liberty and life. He was the recognized leader of that band of sturdy patriots who resisted the encroachments of arbitrary power during the perilous period from 1665 to 1689. Although, for reasons of state, the second place was assigned to him in 1679, when Bradstreet was elected Governor, and Danforth Deputy-governor, careful students of history will generally concur with Palfrey in his estimate of their comparative fitness for leadership: Bradstreet "can scarcely be pronounced to have been equal, either in ability of mind or in force of character, to the task of steering the straining vessel of state in those stormy times. More than any other man then living in Massachusetts, Thomas Danforth was competent to the stern occasion." *

A serial number of the Proceedings, containing the record of the September meeting, was placed upon the table by the Secretary at this meeting.

* Hist. New Eng. vol. iii. p. 331.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1881.

The stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at 3 o'clock P.M., the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the previous meeting, and it was accepted.

The Librarian presented the monthly list of donors to the Library. The gifts included, among others, a splendid volume of a privately printed family memorial, — "Henry Wolcott and some of his Descendants," prepared by the Rev. Samuel Wolcott, of Cleveland, Ohio, and given by the proprietors of the memorial, the eldest sons of the late Judge Frederick Wolcott, of Litchfield, Connecticut; and the commemorative volume of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the settlement of Baltimore, the gift of the Mayor and Council of that city.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter had accepted his election as a Resident Member, and that he had also received letters accepting Corresponding Membership from the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Baird and Colonel Henry B. Carrington.

The PRESIDENT then announced the deaths of two Resident Members, as follows: —

I am sincerely sorry, Gentlemen, that my first duty, this afternoon, is to announce the deaths of two of our Resident Members. Both of them have been associated with us for more than a quarter of a century. Their names stood next to each other on our roll, — the fifteenth and sixteenth in the order of election, among those living when the roll was made up. Both of them had held somewhat peculiar relations to their common *Alma Mater*, — our University at Cambridge. Both of them had long passed the allotted age of human life, — one of them dying in his 78th, and the other in his 83d year. Yet in many ways their characters and careers were strongly in contrast.

The Rev. William Newell, D.D., who died at Cambridge on the 28th ultimo, having taken his degree in 1824, as the second scholar in his class, entered at once on the study of divinity, and was soon made the pastor of the First Parish in Cambridge. His church was for a long time almost like a

chapel of the college, and was particularly associated with the exercises of Commencement and other public days. Dr. Newell held this pastorate quietly and faithfully for thirty-eight consecutive years, breathing always the academic atmosphere and exercising a wholesome influence upon the moral and religious welfare of the community around him, but rarely, if ever, stepping out of his own parochial sphere, or associating himself with any other duty. He was an amiable, accomplished, and excellent man, whose health was hardly equal to any strenuous effort, but who has always enjoyed the respect and regard of those who knew him, and especially of those to whom he ministered so long.

Mr. John Amory Lowell, who died in this city on the 31st ultimo, inherited a full measure of the eager, ardent, inquiring temperament of his father, the late Hon. John Lowell, known to some of us as late as 1840. He was graduated at Harvard in the class of 1815, when he could hardly have been more than seventeen years old. His life was largely devoted to active business pursuits connected with the cotton manufacture. But he was a man of general culture and large literary acquirements. He had been much abroad, was a good modern linguist, and spoke French, particularly, with great perfection. He had his father's taste for botany, made it a special study, and was elected an honorary member of the Linnæan Society of London. For forty years he was one of the Corporation of Harvard College, and no one exercised a more powerful influence than he did in giving direction to the government of the University. He kept himself thoroughly informed on all subjects of local and of national interest, was an earnest and patriotic American, and was never at a loss to give a reason for the faith that was in him, whether with his tongue or his pen. He was long at the head of our Boston Athenæum. He was a valued Fellow of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a highly esteemed associate of our own Society. But perhaps his greatest service to our community was in his efficient and skilful management of the great trust committed to him by his cousin, the late John Lowell, Jr., the founder of the Lowell Lectures. His wise and liberal course in the direction of those lectures has secured for them a success which has made them one of the most important as well as most interesting institutions of popular education in New England. We have special cause, as a Society, for remembering him gratefully in this connection. It was by his obliging co-operation with Dr. George E. Ellis, now our Vice-



President, that the course of Historical Lectures by members of our Society, in 1869, was arranged and carried through, which added a considerable and much-needed amount to our treasury.

The health of Mr. Lowell had been more than once seriously impaired of late years, but he has died before his hold on the community, as one of our most intelligent and valuable citizens, was broken; and the respect of all to whom he was known accompanied him to the grave.

I am instructed by the Council to submit the following Resolution: —

Resolved, That we have heard with sorrow the announcement of the deaths, since our last meeting, of our venerable and respected associates, the Rev. William Newell, D.D., and the Hon. John Amory Lowell, LL.D., and that the President be requested to appoint two of our number to prepare Memoirs of them for our Proceedings.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

The PRESIDENT continued: —

I have had, Gentlemen, of late, not a few reminders of the oblivion into which even matters comparatively recent are prone to pass.

Some weeks ago I observed among the proceedings of a sister society an account of the tomb of Lafayette in Paris, and of a print of the monument, as of some newly discovered thing. It recalled to me that at our January meeting in 1862, I gave a description of the tomb, which I had then recently visited, and presented a print of it, which was for a long time on our mantel-piece in this room. In the volume of our Proceedings, 1860-62, at page 348, will be found the inscription on the tomb, carefully copied from the print. I have visited the tomb at least once, and I believe twice, during subsequent visits to Paris.

Again, there has recently been an earnest interest manifested in many quarters in regard to securing, if possible, the memorable Bradford manuscript from the Bishop of London's library at Fulham. But it seems to have been overlooked that as long ago as 1859-60, an effort of this kind was made at the request of this Society. The manuscript had then been somewhat recently discovered, copied, edited by Mr. Deane, and printed in our Collections. The Prince of Wales was

about visiting our country, and there was even a hope expressed that he might be permitted to bring over this long-lost treasure, and thus to add a signal interest to its restoration. Being then in England, I held consultation with more than one of those in authority on this subject. My late friend, the Venerable Archdeacon Sinclair, was particularly obliging in ascertaining for me what could be done. But the result of the whole matter at that time was the announcement, that nothing less than an Act of Parliament could authorize the Bishop of London to part with any thing in his official library, — which was national, and not private or even church property. Nor, for one, could I help sympathizing with the jealous and scrupulous concern which was expressed about establishing a precedent for giving up a manuscript volume which had so long been a part of that library. We ourselves gave up the Hutchinson Papers most reluctantly, and only in deference to the demand of the State. There are other manuscripts in our archives which may cost us concern hereafter. But I allude to the subject now only to recall the fact that the original intervention for the recovery of this precious old manuscript History of the Pilgrim Fathers dates back more than twenty years.

Still again, a week or ten days after the late Yorktown commemoration, the letter of Washington to Baron Steuben, written on the day of Washington's resignation at Annapolis, found its way into many newspapers as an original publication of altogether new matter. That letter was printed, nearly fifty years ago, in its due order of date, in Dr. Sparks's Writings of Washington, and I had referred to it specially in my oration at least a week before it was brought out as being hitherto unheard of!

May I not be pardoned for alluding to a forgetful statement concerning myself, in a widely circulated New York paper, in connection with a complimentary notice of my late discourse at Yorktown? It was, that the late Mr. Sumner addressed an open letter to me, severely commenting on my course in regard to the Mexican War, in 1846, and that with that letter our personal relations ended for ever. It is enough for me to say, that the alienation of Mr. Sumner and myself originated in no open letter, — although he afterward published one, — but in private personal letters and anonymous newspaper articles; and that, although our non-intercourse was of long duration, we exchanged visits and invitations and the ordinary courtesies of society, during the last ten or fifteen years of his life; that I paid a tribute to his memory in



this hall on the day after his death, and, by appointment of the City Government, acted as one of the pall-bearers at his funeral. I am unwilling that an oblivion of these facts should leave room for the idea that any resentments, whether of my own or of his,—if either of us had them,—did not come to a timely end.

Let me proceed to say a few words about Yorktown, in order to correct some erroneous impressions which have obtained currency in many quarters. The celebration was, in my judgment, and entirely apart from any service which I was called on to render myself, a most gratifying and successful one. There were certainly discomforts to be endured there, as well as satisfactions to be enjoyed. Yorktown is, we all know, in a desolate region, with a small and poor population, able to do nothing for itself. The appropriations for the commemoration, both by Congress and by the States, were entirely insufficient, and the commissioners without any experience. Indeed, experience in such a matter only comes with the occasion, and cannot be turned to immediate account. But under all circumstances, every thing was arranged and conducted as well as could reasonably have been anticipated. There was a large and brilliant throng, both on the day of laying the corner-stone of the monument, and on that of the exercises of the 19th. The review by President Arthur of nearly ten thousand troops from so many different States, under General Hancock, was most impressive; while the naval spectacle in the river, with the illuminations and fireworks and the salute of the British flag, will be forgotten by no one who was fortunate enough to witness them. Meantime, every thing was fitly done to recognize and celebrate the great services rendered us by France and her illustrious sons and by the Baron Steuben.

It has been suggested that I was a sufferer, and it is true that we found difficulty for a day or two in procuring rations. But it was altogether the result of accidental and local circumstances, for which no just reproach rests on anybody. Above all, no just reproach rests on Virginia or Virginians, from whom I received, both at Richmond and at Yorktown, every possible respect and attention, and for whose Governor and citizens I brought home renewed feelings of regard. It was worth all the discomforts to which I was exposed, to have been privileged to occupy for three or four days, as I did, the old Nelson House,—a mansion hardly less historic than the Hancock House, of which we all regret the loss in these centennial days.

I must not omit to mention my special indebtedness to Governor Long, who kindly invited me to go to Yorktown with him, as a guest of the Commonwealth. His arrangements for going and returning compelled me to forego this privilege, but I was not the less grateful for the invitation, and for his other attentions at Yorktown. But let me repeat emphatically that every degree of courtesy was shown me by the Joint Commission of Congress, and by all the Virginians whom I had the pleasure of meeting, and that I regret sincerely that any accidental deficiencies of food, — to which I have never alluded except as a matter of amusement, — should have become the subject of serious and even sectional controversy.

Before closing these cursory remarks, I desire to state that the Marquis de Rochambeau accompanied me to these rooms on the 3d instant, and inscribed his name on our register. He has long been one of our Corresponding Members, under the name of Count Achille de Rochambeau. His change of title will be made on our next printed roll.

In accordance with a recommendation of the Council, it was voted to transfer the Marquis de Rochambeau from the class of Corresponding Members to that of Honorary Members. Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., of Worcester, and Mr. John T. Hassam, of Boston, were elected Resident Members; and Mr. William Wirt Henry, of Virginia, was elected a Corresponding Member.

The Rev. Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS presented, in the joint names of the Misses Elizabeth and Mary Danforth, of Boston, a small portrait of their great-grandfather, Samuel Danforth, painted on copper by Copley. Mr. Danforth was a prominent citizen of Cambridge, Judge of Probate and of the Court of Common Pleas, and filled other offices of trust and responsibility. He was a member of the Provincial Council for thirty-six years, when his acceptance of his appointment as Mandamus Councillor so offended his townsmen that he was forced to resign. The thanks of the Society were voted for this acceptable gift.

Dr. ELLIS exhibited also a curious engraving of General Putnam, which had been transferred to glass and colored. In the legend under the portrait Putnam is styled Major-General of the Connecticut forces and commander-in-chief at Bunker Hill. The print was published in England, "as the act directs," by C. Shepard, Sept. 9, 1775. It was found a few years ago in a small shop in Canterbury, England.

Mr. DEANE exhibited a fine engraving by Le Mire, from Le Paon's portrait of Lafayette, with the legend, "Conclusion de la Campagne de 1781, en Virginie. To his Excellency, General Washington, this likeness of his friend, the Marquess de la Fayette, is humbly dedicated." Lafayette is represented standing by his horse, which is held by a black servant, while the surrender of Yorktown is depicted in the background. The first line of the legend is broken in the centre by the word "Liberté," encircled by bay leaves, with a short pole crowned with the liberty cap. Mr. Deane read also an interesting letter of Washington written from the camp at Cambridge, July 20, 1775, to one of his brothers. This letter belonged to a lady in Philadelphia, and, being for sale, liberty was not granted for its publication.

The PRESIDENT read the following letter which he had received very lately from Chief Justice Waite of the Supreme Court of the United States :—

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 6, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. WINTHROP, — The powder-horn your Society has undoubtedly belonged to my great-grandfather on my mother's side, Colonel Samuel Selden, of Lyme, Connecticut. He was commissioned a colonel by Governor Trumbull in June, 1776, and was taken prisoner at the evacuation of New York. He died soon after. The tradition in the family always has been, until recently, that he died in the prison-ship, but Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, in her researches while writing her history of the city of New York, came across the original despatches giving an account of the actual facts. You will find them in a note at the foot of page 124 of her second volume. You will find in that note a very accurate and pretty full account of the family.

The old homestead still remains in the family. In ransacking the garret a few years ago I found the old commission of the colonel, and his docket as a justice of the peace from 1757 until the date of his commission as colonel. There is also in the house the original deed for the land, bearing date in 1687, I think, and the property has never, I believe, changed hands by deed since. It has gone down regularly in the family, and always in the name, by descent or devise. The estate was originally a very large one ; that connected with the homestead at the present time is something less than a hundred acres. The house is in a fine state of preservation.

Mrs. General Cass was one of Colonel Selden's grandchildren. I find her name is not included in Mrs. Lamb's list. In other respects I think her article is pretty complete as well as accurate. Mrs. Waite is the genealogist of my family. If she were here she might be able to give you more information that would be interesting.

With kind regards to Mrs. Winthrop, and many thanks for your kindness in writing me as you have, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

M. R. WAITE.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR read a letter from Judge Davis to Harrison Gray Otis, then Mayor of Boston, presenting to the city a copy of Price's View of Boston, prefacing it as follows:—

In May, 1880, I laid before the Society my reasons for believing that what had been considered the oldest engraved view of Boston, which was dedicated by Price, the publisher, in 1743, to Peter Faneuil, was printed, with changes, from an older plate, which must have been produced between 1723 and 1729. In the "Memorial History of Boston," vol. ii. p. 531, I have shown that a view of Boston—presumably this—was taken in 1723, and was on sale in Boston in July, 1725, the engraving having been done meanwhile in London.

A few weeks ago our associate, Mr. Whitmore, drew my attention to what he thought was a confirmation of this theory, in the notice of an ancient view of the town, which was presented, as appeared by the records of the Aldermen, to the city in 1830. On the files in the City Clerk's office I found the letter of presentation, signed by the late Judge Davis, and there is now no doubt that a copy of this earlier view was once in the City Hall. A numerical key to the buildings shown, appended by Judge Davis, corresponds to the sequence in the 1743 view up to No. 50, as I had supposed, those later than that and up to No. 60 having been added to correspond with the changes in the plate, when it was used to get out the picture dedicated to Faneuil in commemoration of his recent gift of a town hall. Judge Davis's letter follows:—

FEDERAL STREET, Sept. 25, 1830.

DEAR SIR,—I requested Mr. Marshall Pollard to take charge of the old view of Boston, exhibited at the Exchange Coffee House on the 17th instant, meaning, as I believe was intimated to you, to present it to the city. It was regarded with interest by those who viewed it at the dinner on the 17th at the Exchange, and since.* It will be gratifying to me if it should meet the acceptance of the City Government, to whom I would request you to offer it, in my behalf. It is entitled a "View of the *Great Town* of Boston in New England." The appellation was specially pertinent when the view was taken, in 1724. Boston, it is believed, was not then exceeded by any city in North America, if we except Mexico. If a more perfect copy should not be found, it may be well to cause some pains to be taken for the preservation of this frail representation of the ancient features of our

* This dinner was a part of the programme of the bi-centennial celebration of Sept. 17, 1830.—J. W.

city, by applying a suitable coat of varnish, or by some other effectual method which artists may suggest.

When the print was in my possession, for more convenient recurrence to the references, I made a copy of them, which I enclose. The references underscored in the copy indicate the buildings represented in the plate that are now standing. Persons better acquainted than myself with the old topography of the town will be able probably to point out others. Nos. 33 and 37, I am inclined to think, represent buildings still in existence; but not being certain of this, I have left these references unmarked. Many of us remember No. 16, referring to Mr. Miles's house. It was on the lot adjoining the residence of the late Samuel Eliot, Esq., in Tremont Street. Mr. Miles was the first rector of King's Chapel.

Very respectfully, your friend and obed't svt.,

J. DAVIS.

Hon. H. G. OTIS, *Mayor of Boston.*

References to View of Boston. Taken in time of Governor Shute, A.D. 1724.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Fortification. | 27. Brattle St. M. H., built 1699. |
| 2. Gibbon's shipyard. | 28. Lee's shipyard. |
| 3. Roxbury flats. | 29. Mr. Clark's house. |
| 4. New S. meeting-house, built 1716. | 30. Anabaptist M. H., bt. 1680. |
| 5. Edes' shipyard. | 31. <i>New Brick M. House, built 1721.</i> |
| 6. Fort Hill. | 32. Sears' shipyard. |
| 7. South Battery. | 33. Mr. W. Clark and Mr. Hutchinson's houses. |
| 8. Gales' shipyard. | 34. Clark's shipyard. |
| 9. <i>Gov^r House.</i> | 35. Old N. M. House, built 1650. |
| 10. South M. House, built 1669. | 36. Clark's Wharf. |
| 11. French M. House, built 1716. | 37. Col. Hutchinson's house. |
| 12. King's [Wing's] shipyard. | 38. Gill's shipyard. |
| 13. Mr. Barnes' house. | 39. Greenwood's & Grant's D ^l . |
| 14. King's Chapel, founded 1688. | 40. <i>Christ Church, founded 1723.</i> |
| 15. Beacon Hill. | 41. Mr. Ruck's house. |
| 16. Mr. Miles' house. | 42. New N. M. H., built 1714. |
| 17. <i>Mr. Faneuil's house.</i> | 43. Winnisimmet ferry. |
| 18. Holloway's shipyard. | 44. North Battery. |
| 19. Greenleaf's yard. | 45. Thornton's shipyard. |
| 20. The old M. House, built 1630. | 46. Clark, jun ^r , do. |
| 21. Mr. Phillips' house. | 47. Capt. Greenough's house and yard. |
| 22. Quaker M. House, 1710. | 48. Charles River. |
| 23. <i>Town House.</i> | 49. Baker's shipyard. |
| 24. Old Wharf. | 50. The Station Ship. |
| 25. Thos. Selby's Coffee house. | |
| 26. Long Wharf. | |

14 shipyards.

[Indorsed in the hand of the elder McCleary: —]

"Judge Davis's View of Boston. Accepted. Thanks to Judge Davis, and referred to y^e Mayor to see what can be done with it."

The "Columbian Centinel" of Sept. 20, 1830, speaking of the dinner (where Judge Davis, then President of this Society, supported Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop, who presided), says, "In the hall was hung a picture of Boston, taken

more than a century ago. It represents the ancient appearance of the buildings, — the stone chapel with a crown on the spire, and other peculiarities of the times."

The presentation is noted in the proceedings of the Aldermen, printed in the "Centinel," Sept. 29, 1830, and in the "Advertiser" of the same day this print is said to be "in the Mayor and Aldermen's room." This was in the old State House, and it seems to have been transferred to the corresponding apartment in the old Court House (on the site of the present City Hall), when that building received the city offices. Mr. McCleary, the present City Clerk, writes to me under date of Oct. 18, 1881:—

"I distinctly recollect seeing this print hanging on the wall of the ante-room to the Board of Aldermen's Chamber in the old City Hall, between the years 1844 and 1861, when that building was taken down to make room for the existing structure, erected on the same site. The picture was very old and quite dilapidated; it was laid upon a canvas backing, and had a black frame without any glass. I have seen the picture many times within the period cited, and from 1852 to 1861 I saw it daily. The picture had a round hole, two inches in diameter, in the right-hand corner, about the edges of which the canvas backing was quite perceptible. It displayed a view of the town of Boston from the water; there were numerous spires of churches, and a large fleet of war-vessels in the foreground, some of which were discharging salutes. When the old City Hall was taken down this 'view' was mislaid, or lost in some way, it not having been regarded as very ornamental in its appearance."

Mr. WINSOR gave also the following account of the transmission of the manuscript of Governor Bradford's History to our times:—

The original manuscript volume, in which Governor Bradford wrote his account of "Plimoth Plantation," was described, in 1855, by Mr. Joseph Hunter, of her Majesty's Record Office, as measuring 12×7 inches, with a binding of "white parchment, soiled and in no good condition." In this book the Governor began to write his narrative "about the year 1630, and so pieced up," as he says, "at times of leisure afterward,"—all being done in a singularly even and handsome hand. Mr. Deane has pointed out that the last paragraphs, bringing the story down to 1646, were written in 1650, and the manuscript bears indications that Bradford had intended continuing it. Seven years later he died, in 1657, and one of the notes in the volume traces its descent for half

a century more.* It says that the Governor gave the book to his son, Major William Bradford, he to his son, Major John; and this record is made and signed, March 20, 1705, by Samuel Bradford,—probably the son of Major John, and, if so, then a young man of twenty-two. Meanwhile we know that Nathaniel Morton, a nephew of the Governor, who had come over in 1633, being a lad of eleven years, and had later become secretary of the colony, had used it in writing his "New England's Memorial," which was first printed in 1669. Morton speaks of his book as "something of the very first beginnings of the great action of God in New England, begun at New Plymouth: wherein the greatest part of my intelligence hath been borrowed from my much honored uncle, Mr. William Bradford, and such manuscripts as he left in his study, from the year 1620 unto 1646, whom had God continued in this world some longer time, and given him rest from his other more important affairs, we might probably have had these things from [with] an abler pen, and better digested, than now you may expect."

Exception was taken by some of the Plymouth Church that Morton had in his "Memorial" been "too sparing and short" in what pertained to their ecclesiastical affairs, "the consideration whereof" he says, "put me on thought of recollecting something more particularly relating to the Church of Plymouth. Some time after the finishing of this work, I was solicited to lend it to a reverend friend at Boston, where it was burned in the first fire that was so destructive at Boston, in the year 1676 [to accept Dr. Young's correction of date from 1667]. Yet, notwithstanding I have crowded through many difficulties to achieve it the second time, and for that end did once again repair to the study of my much honored uncle, William Bradford, Esquire, deceased, for whose care and faithfulness in such like respects we stand bound . . . whose labors in such respect might fitly have been published to the world, had they not been involved in and amongst particulars of other nature."†

The first transcript thus referred to was doubtless lent to Increase Mather, and was destroyed in the fire which consumed his church, house, and part of his library; and it may be this transcript to which Mather refers in his "Relation of the Troubles which have hapned in New England," Boston,

* This note is given in Mr. Deane's preface to the History as printed by the Mass. Hist. Society.

† Dr. Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 5, 6.

1677, though from his language one would infer that he had had the original volume. He says, "Moreover, I have read a large manuscript of Governour Bradford's (written with his own hand), being expressive of what the first planters in this Countrey met with, whether from the heathen or otherwise, from the year 1620 to the year 1647." If the original underwent the ordeal of that fire of Nov. 27, 1676, it is not the least of the vicissitudes it has encountered. The dates given by Mather indicate strongly that he had the original, since Morton's transcript, as he made it a second time, ends in 1620, where Mather says Bradford's manuscript begins.

This repeated copy of Morton's, as it now stands on the Plymouth Church records, is dated at the end of a sort of preface of Morton's own writing, Jan. 13, 1680, and it contains some statements which Morton had not given in his "Memorial," eleven years before. It also omits, as we now know, considerable parts of the original manuscript.* Morton has written in the margin at the beginning, "This was originally penned by Mr. William Bradford, Governor of New Plymouth." Notwithstanding this distinct statement, Ebenezer Hazard, when he printed the transcript, somewhat inaccurately, in his "Historical Collections," in 1792,† gave the authorship to Morton himself,—an error which seems to have been followed by Judge Davis and Mr. Bancroft; and even Dr. Thacher, in his "History of Plymouth" (1832), does not lead one to infer that he had any suspicion of its source, notwithstanding Morton makes another pretty clear admission of its origin in the following passage, which Hazard, however, did not print: "The immediate following relations in Mr. Bradford's book, out of which divers of these matters are re-collected, do more especially concern the conditions of their agreement with several merchant adventurers, . . . wherefore I shall here omit to insert them, judging them not so suitable to my present purpose."

A more careful scholar examined it, however, when Dr. Alexander Young discovered its connection with Bradford, and printed it as his, in his "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," in 1841. "The value of this document," said Dr. Young, when he had traced its origin, "depends upon its authorship, and cannot be overestimated. It takes precedence of every thing else relating to the Pilgrims, in time, authority, and interest."

There is also on the Plymouth Church records a memoir of Elder Brewster, which had long been known to be copied from

* Deane's Bradford, p. 80.

† Vol. i. p. 319.

a part of this Bradford manuscript, not only because it is in the hand of Morton, as the other passages are, but because Morton printed much of it in his "Memorial," and there distinctly ascribes it to Bradford's History. It is now found in the recovered manuscript.*

Previous to the date of the note made by Samuel Bradford, the manuscript had likewise been used by William Hubbard, in writing his "History of New England," which so long remained unprinted; yet Prince † says that Hubbard "fell into mistakes for want of Governor Bradford's History, and some other material." Again, Prince says, "By many passages in Mr. Hubbard, it appears he had never seen Governor Bradford's History, for want thereof he is sometimes in the dark." ‡ In the recently recovered preface of Hubbard, he makes no mention of Bradford's manuscript, except so far as he may have had it in mind, when he writes of "original manuscripts of such as had the managing of those affairs under their hands, or were related by the very persons themselves concerned in them, being upon the place at the time when such things were transacted." Hazard, in copying from Hubbard, seems to have had no suspicion that Hubbard was indebted at all to Bradford. Dr. Young§ has pointed out how Hubbard must have used the original, or possibly, in some parts, Morton's incomplete transcript of the manuscript. Mr. Deane comes to the same conclusion.||

It had again served a similar purpose with Cotton Mather, who left traces of his use of it in his "Magnalia," particularly in his account of Bradford.¶ Dr. Young, however, is of the opinion that Cotton Mather used Bradford as given at second hand in the Plymouth Church records.** We do not again track it till 1728, when Thomas Prince called on Major John Bradford, in Kingston, and learned from him that he had lent the volume to Judge Sewall.†† Major Bradford now author-

* Deane's Bradford, p. 408.

† Preface to his Chronological History.

‡ Note, *sub anno* 1625.

§ Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 58, 76, 78, 85.

|| Bradford, p. 62.

¶ It was the statement by Mather that Bradford was born at *Austerfield*, that so long prevented the discovery of the precise spot of the Pilgrims' early abode. Hunter first showed it was *Austerfield*. Mather must also have had additional information.

** Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 30.

†† From Prince's quoting "a manuscript note of Governor Bradford in the margin of Sir William Alexander's Description of New England, London, 1630," it would seem that possibly Prince got of Major John Bradford other books than this manuscript.

ized Prince to receive the manuscript of Sewall, and to make use of it in his "Chronological History," which he did; and, June 4, 1728, Prince noted these circumstances on a blank leaf of the Bradford volume.* At the same time, Major John Bradford signified, as Prince records in the same place, his willingness to let Prince "lodge" the manuscript in the New England Library, which Prince was then gathering, "only y^e He might have the Perusal of it while he lived."

This last note was copied and sent to Mr. Deane, with a transcript of the Bradford volume, in 1855, and is printed in Mr. Deane's preface.† When this gentleman was at Fulham in 1866 he saw the manuscript, and then found that there was another note in Prince's hand on the opposite leaf, which had not been copied, and which stated that "Major Bradford tells me and assures me . . . that he would never Part with y^e Property, but would lend it to me and desired me to get it [of Sewall], which I did. I write down this so that Major Bradford and his Heirs may be known to be the Right owners.' ‡ On the leaf which contains Prince's note of June 4, 1728, the book-plate of the Prince Library is pasted, and as this plate is not filled out (supplementing the print) it is uncertain whether it was put in by Prince himself, or by his executors.§ Whether it were a deliberate act of Prince, as indicating that the heirs of Bradford had given up their claims upon the manuscript, or merely an act of inadvertence of his own, or of his executors, when the pledge was not remembered or observed, — is a question that will not be easily determined, if the time should ever come for designating its rightful owners.

When Prince published the first volume of his "Chronological History," in 1736, he said that next to the sacred history and that of the Reformation, he was from his early youth instructed in the history of this country, and that the first book put into his hands was Morton's "New England's Memorial," and he adds that in 1728 he determined to draw up a new Chronology, urged thereto by the want of such a history, and particularly by the deficiencies of Neal's "History of New England," which had been written "without the helps which this country affords." He very soon enlarged his design, influenced by the extent of the historical manuscripts, old and

* Deane's preface to the History, p. xi.

† Page xi.

‡ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., Aug., 1866, p. 345.

§ See an examination of the book-plate evidence in the introduction to the "Prince Catalogue."

new, which came to him, and foremost among them he places this History of Governor Bradford, and "The Ancient Church of Plymouth records, begun by Mr. Secretary Morton," making no mention, however, of the latter's indebtedness to the Bradford manuscript, — an omission which might well have deceived Hazard. He also names Hubbard's History; but he fails to recognize, as has been shown, that it had any connection with the same manuscript. He also takes occasion to borrow in part the words of Strype, in his "Annals of the Reformation," as the rule he had adopted in using these materials, namely, universally "to set down things in the very words of the records and originals," — a practice conducing to later developments, as we shall see.* Prince signed each of these extracts from the manuscript with the initial *B.*, and lest his readers should think there was a mistake, seeing that Morton used the same language, he adds that "Mr. Morton's History, from the beginning of the Plymouth people to the end of 1646," is "chiefly Governor Bradford's manuscript abbreviated."

Prince died in 1758, and he left by will the library which he had gathered, and which he had kept in the "steeple chamber" of the Old South Church,† to that church, under care of its deacons, and it is highly probable that this manuscript was in this collection at that time.

Governor Hutchinson published in 1764 the first volume of his "History of Massachusetts Bay," and though he refers to Prince, he makes no mention of Prince having used the manuscript, or of himself having borrowed from it; but, as we shall see, Hutchinson had intentionally avoided Plymouth history. He says in the preface of this volume, "I made what collection I could of the private papers of our first settlers; but in this I have not had the success I desired. The descendants of some of them are possessed of many valuable letters and other manuscripts, but have not leisure or inclination to look into them themselves, and yet will not suffer it to be done by others. I am obliged to no other person more than to my friend and brother the Reverend Mr. Mather, whose library has been open to me, as it had been before to the Reverend Mr. Prince, who had taken from thence the greatest and most valuable part of what he had collected."

When Hutchinson, however, published in 1767 his second

* "And I know not that I have ever changed any words or phrases, unless they were very uncouth, or obsolete; only in some very few instances I have used a softer term for a severer." — *Prince's preface.*

† Prince Catalogue, p. ix.

volume, he said in his preface, "Some of my friends of the Colony of New Plymouth took it unkindly that I said no more of their affairs in the first part of the history. . . . I could never meet with many papers relative to Plymouth. From such papers as I have been able to obtain, I have prepared the best summary I could." * It were hard to believe, from such a declaration about the scant material relative to the Pilgrims, that so full an account as Bradford's could have reached Hutchinson, unless through the medium of Morton, as we know Winthrop reached him through the pages of Hubbard, except that we have Hutchinson's distinct avowal of having used it. In one place he says, "William Bradford was one of the younger men of the Company. Douglass says he was a man of no family and no learning.† His manuscripts show that he was a plain, sensible man, and in his public trust he was esteemed as a discreet, upright, and faithful officer."‡ Again he says, "This manuscript of Bradford is the most ancient memorial relative to this part of the country which is now extant, and it appears from it," &c., &c. Once again, "Perhaps the relation of this action by Governor Bradford may afford some light on the controversy. I shall therefore cause it to be inserted in the margin exactly as I find the words and points in his manuscript."

The last mention that we find of the manuscript previous to the Revolution is in 1773, when President Stiles speaks of it in connection with Winthrop's Journal and Hubbard's History as "the three most considerable historical accounts of the first settlement of New England." Four years earlier Dr. Stiles had written the chapter on the history of Robinson's church (it is dated January, 1769), which forms a part of his manuscript "Ecclesiastical History of New England," now preserved in the Cabinet of this Society.§ In this chapter he says of Governor Bradford, "He wrote an historical journal of the public occurrences in his day, in which are inserted those which arose in this church from its foundation, 1602 to 1646, that is, for the first twenty-six years after its removal to Plymouth, and also for the eighteen years that it subsisted in Europe. Mr. Nathaniel Morton . . . in 1669,

* This last appears in his appendix.

† Dr. William Douglass published in Boston in 1749 the first volume of his "Summary of the first planting of the British Settlements in America"; but he makes no mention of the manuscript, and apparently did not use it. This statement about Bradford is not wholly borne out by Cotton Mather's account, nor by Hunter's later discoveries.

‡ Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 457.

§ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., Sept., 1879, p. 137.

printed a "Memorial of New England," the substance of which to 1646 was selected from Governor Bradford's manuscript. I have also examined and extracted from the original records of the first church in Plymouth. These are the authorities from which I write the account of Mr. Robinson's church." One might easily infer from this that Dr. Stiles had used Bradford at first hand, as indeed he might be thought to have done, were it not that all his extracts from the manuscript are such as he might have got from Prince, whom however he strangely forgets to mention; and were it not also ascertained,* that in some other notes of his which are preserved he says, "Governor Bradford's and Rev. Mr. Hubbard's manuscripts I have not otherwise than as delivered in the extracts selected in printed books, as Morton's Memorial, which is said to contain the substance of Governor Bradford." As this last memorandum is dated three years later than the chapter of the "Ecclesiastical History" given to Robinson's church, there can be no doubt that the original was never in Dr. Stiles's hands.

Prince had provided in his will, regarding his library, "that no Person shall borrow any Book or Paper therefrom." Of course it is possible that rules had been broken in favor of Hutchinson, and that the deacons had suffered him to take the book to his house; or, what seems quite as likely, that little care was bestowed upon the collection, and that neither the deacons nor Hutchinson remembered the injunction of the will. Still Hutchinson may have made his use of it in the "steeple chamber"; but the theory that the manuscript found its way to England among his effects would require that he used it in his own study, and that the will was either ignorantly or wilfully disregarded. Hutchinson left Boston in 1774, and if the book went with him to England, it not unlikely reached Fulham in the way suggested by the Rev. Dr. Hoppin: namely, that Hutchinson probably received it among his books, packed and sent over to him after his flight; and, cognizant of the value of the manuscript, he might easily be supposed to have deposited it with the Bishop of London. Further, another view is likely, in Dr. Hoppin's opinion. Hutchinson lived at Brompton and was buried at Croyden, where the Rev. Dr. East Apthorp, whom Hutchinson had known in Boston, and who was a fellow refugee, preached. Apthorp was also a prebendary of St. Paul's. He might naturally have received it from Hutchinson, or his heirs (Hutch-

* Pointed out to me by Mr. George Dexter.

inson dying in 1780), and the Bishop of London might well have received it from him.

The more commonly received opinion is, that it was taken from the Old South tower by some one who knew its value, during the time when Boston was occupied by British troops in 1775-76; and was carried, upon the evacuation, to England. Two other volumes, both manuscript, which had belonged to the Prince Library, are now with the Bradford manuscript in the library at Fulham. Both of them contain the book-plate of the New England Library of Prince, filled out in Prince's own hand. Neither of them * was a book likely to have been in Hutchinson's possession; and the natural inference is that they were companions of the Bradford volume in its migrations. This militates against Dr. Hoppin's theory.

It is known that the letter-book of Bradford was likewise in the Prince Library, and this too was missing after the evacuation of March, 1776. Some years later the remains of it were found in a grocer's shop in Nova Scotia, and sent to the Historical Society in 1793, by Mr. James Clarke, a Corresponding Member.† It seems more likely that the other Bradford manuscript went the same way on its journey to England.

It was, however, ever after this given up for lost by New England antiquaries, not without a suspicion that it may have been among the papers destroyed when Hutchinson's house in Garden Court Street was sacked in 1765. In 1826 the editor of Prince's "Chronological History" speaks of the Bradford manuscript as having been "lost or destroyed during the Revolutionary War." In 1830 Francis Baylies, in his "Historical Memoir of New Plymouth," says that it is lost, and no trace of it remains except in the Annals of Prince, most strangely forgetting the use which Morton and Hutchinson, if not others, had made of it.

Over twenty years ago, when Mr. Samuel G. Drake was in London, Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, of the manuscript department of the British Museum, told him — as Drake avers — that while he was "rummaging in the Lambeth Library, among a mass of manuscripts," he "detected this of Bradford," and "called the attention of the Librarian to it, who allowed him to take it and to cause it to be repaired as is now

* One was a Dictionary of Authors, and the other a commonplace book of Nathan Prince, the brother of Thomas, the companion volume of which is still in the Prince Library.

† Proceedings, vol. i. p. 52.

seen. But for Mr. Hamilton's . . . calling the attention of the Bishop of Oxford to it," adds Mr. Drake, it might have longer remained unknown.* The Bishop of Oxford (Samuel Wilberforce) had already published in 1844 his first edition of the "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America," and in his reference † to the manuscript he speaks of it as a "Manuscript History of the Plantation of Plymouth, &c., in the Fulham Library." In his preface he names, among those who have assisted him, "The Lord Bishop of London, who most liberally allowed him access to all the manuscript treasures of the Fulham Library." He says nothing of Mr. Hamilton's instrumentality, and in a note to Mr. Charles Deane, at a later day, the Bishop distinctly says, "I discovered it for myself in searching for original documents." ‡ The same reference stands also in his second edition, printed two years later.§ Although the Bishop quoted passages already made familiar to students of Pilgrim history, through Morton's and Prince's use of them (which would have served to identify the manuscript), no American scholar recognized them. The Bishop, in November, 1844, sent a copy of his first edition to Mr. Edward Everett, then our Minister in London, and although this identical copy, now by favor of Dr. William Everett in the Society's Library, shows Mr. Everett's careful reading, as evinced by his manuscript annotations, even on the very page of the reference, this important note seems to have excited in him no curiosity. Again, in the year of the second edition (1846) there was printed in New York a pamphlet, "A Reproof of the American Church by the Bishop of Oxford, extracted from a 'History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America,' with an Introduction by an American Churchman." This editor was William Jay, and the extract he introduced was upon the Church's indifference to the evils of slavery, and did not include the reference to the Fulham manuscript. The editor in the introduction speaks of the Bishop of Oxford's book as "almost unknown in this country," and as "virtually suppressed." He then goes on to say that one or two publishers, "as soon as the book reached our shores," announced reprints, which intention had resulted in "expressive silence," and "a

* Increase Mather's *Early History of New England*, edited by S. G. Drake, Boston, 1864, p. 46. Mr. Drake possibly, and perhaps probably, wrote "Lambeth" by mistake for "Fulham."

† Page 56.

‡ Mr. Deane's preface, p. xix.

§ Ed. of 1846, p. 56.

concealment of Dr. Wilberforce's work obviously intentional and not accidental," inasmuch as he adds, "probably one or more Southern bishops have exerted their influence."

Two years later than this (1848) Mr. Deane was fortuitously, as he thought, rescuing from oblivion an incident of the voyage of the "Mayflower" recorded by Bradford, which he had found quoted by Prince, in a bit of the cancelled manuscript of his "Chronological History,"* and Mr. S. G. Drake, then editing the "Genealogical Register," where Mr. Deane's communication was printed, said in connection, "It shows us that after all that has been said and done, the original manuscript History of Bradford is still a desideratum."

American antiquaries had not got the clew yet; but they were to overlook it still more strangely. In this same year (1848) the Rev. James S. M. Anderson's "History of the Colonial Church," made it certain that what Wilberforce had used was the veritable Bradford manuscript, for Anderson quotes it as Bradford's, calling him, however, the *first* instead of the *second* Governor of that colony, and making it further evident from his statement that "Prince's Annals of New England are chiefly compiled from this manuscript, which is now in the possession of the Bishop of London."† One would suppose that such an explicit statement might have attracted the attention of our own students of American history; but it did not.‡ It is still more strange, perhaps, that it did not attract the attention of an English scholar, who just at this time was working upon this very subject, and adding materially to our knowledge of the history of the Pilgrims before they left England. This was Joseph Hunter, of the Public Record Office, a gentleman whom one would have thought conversant with current publications of this kind. In 1849, after Wilberforce had made the manuscript known to his readers, and Anderson had identified it, Mr. Hunter published in London the first edition of his "Founders of New Plymouth," in which he speaks of what we owe to Bradford, adding, "Probably no modern colony, and certainly no ancient

* N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register, vol. ii. p. 187; Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., April, 1879, p. 65.

† Dr. George H. Moore first drew the attention of American scholars to this reference in Anderson in the New York "Times," Oct. 11, 1856. Also see Boston "Post," Oct. 15, 1856; and N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register, January, 1857, p. 44. Anderson's note is repeated in his second edition, London, 1856. This edition is called "The History of the Church of England in the Colonies," and the note occurs vol. ii. p. 193.

‡ Mr. C. C. Smith's Sketch of Barry's life in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., Dec., 1878, p. 138.

State, has such authentic and minute information of all events in their earliest history," and then he goes on to specify the writings of Bradford as consisting of Mourt's Relation, and the manuscripts from which Morton, Hubbard, Prince, and Hutchinson had drawn. He says of Prince, "He appears to have been acquainted with writings of Bradford not now known to be in existence"; and adds, "so dangerous it is to allow valuable writings to remain in single copies." All this while this precious manuscript was reposing within an easy walk of him, and had been the previous year identified by Anderson in a book published almost under his eyes. When we observe in Hunter's footnotes the books he consulted, it seems marvellous that neither Wilberforce nor Anderson appears among them. And when we consider that there must have been in England not a few readers who, as Hunter says, had had "their interest about these founders of the North American civilization revived and deepened" by the new light which his book had shed upon their early history,* and who might also be reasonably expected to have read Wilberforce's or Anderson's book, it is another link in this strange concatenation of oversights, that no one among such readers, — and they must have included, one remembers, such investigators of American history as Henry Stevens, then fresh in London and eager in quest, and Horatio G. Somerby, — was found, who was fortunate enough to detect the relation which this reference to the Fulham manuscript bore to the story which Mr. Hunter had been telling.† And it is still further to be remarked that this earlier book of the Bishop of Oxford, notwithstanding the alleged "suppression," was reprinted in New York in this same year (1849), with an American editor, "E. M. J.," who says of the bishop that "the opportunity afforded in England to consult the works of the earlier writers upon America has been embraced by the author and most laboriously improved." Still the editor allows the same note as in the English edition to stand here (p. 53) without comment, and six years were yet to pass before any American student of history recognized its significance.

In 1855 the Congregational Board of Publication caused an edition of Morton to be published here in Boston, and the editor was also so far ignorant of the truth, that he says of

* Hunter's 2d ed. (1854), p. viii.

† Mr. W. H. Bartlett published about this time also in London (1853), his "Pilgrim Fathers," and he is so uninformed on the matter as to suppose that Dr. Young had printed all of Bradford.

the Bradford manuscript that "the most diligent search of historians and antiquarians has failed to find it entire."

But before this same year (1855) was well advanced, it was at last brought to the attention of American scholars, through the instrumentality of two gentlemen, who never quite agreed as to their respective shares in this tardy recognition. The facts appear to be these: Mr. John Wingate Thornton noticed in a copy of Bishop Wilberforce's London edition, which he chanced to find at Burnham's antiquarian book-shop in Boston, passages regarding Pilgrim history which struck him as familiar, and which seemed to him couched in phrases of the same characteristics as those of the elder writers on the subject. He noticed that some of the passages gave new facts, and that all of the passages were credited to a manuscript preserved at Fulham. Further than this it does not appear that he went towards the identification, as is shown by some manuscript memoranda of his own, and by his own indorsement of a printed statement made by a friend of his, and signed "Carl," which appeared in the Boston "Transcript,"* and which he subsequently quoted approvingly.† His relations with the Rev. John S. Barry, who was then carrying through the press the first volume of the "History of Massachusetts," were intimate, and Mr. Barry was accustomed to visit Mr. Thornton's office for consultation about his book. On one of these occasions, — Feb. 15, 1855, — Mr. Barry found that Mr. Thornton had left under cover, for Mr. Barry, this book of Wilberforce, having first marked in it such passages as had struck him, and the reference at the foot of the page. With the book he had left also a note, about which there is some difference of evidence. Mr. Thornton says it drew attention to the new facts. Mr. Deane has an impression gathered from several interviews with each, that the note was of little significance; neither Mr. Barry nor "Carl" mentions it at all. Within an hour or two Mr. Barry, reading the book, identified the language as that of Bradford when quoted by Morton and Prince; and he accordingly believed that he had discovered a trace of the long-lost manuscript. Within the next two days he drew the attention of Mr. Samuel G. Drake (a claim at the time was set up, that Barry had got the hint from him ‡), and of Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, who saw an opportunity of adding

* July 17, 1856; also N. E. Hist. and General Register, vol. x. p. 354.

† Maine Hist. Coll., vol. v. p. 144.

‡ "Transcript," April 16, 1855; N. E. Hist. and General Register, vol. ix. p. 231; Drake's Supplement to Baylies's New Plymouth, p. 9.

Bradford's narrative to the "Records of Plymouth," which he was then editing for the Commonwealth. The latter, however, desisted from any steps when he learned what Mr. Barry had done on the following day. This was to go to Mr. Charles Deane, to say to him that he believed he had made an important discovery,—it being no less than Governor Bradford's manuscript History,—and to ask him to write to England and secure a copy, if it should prove to be the manuscript in question. The grievance set forth by "Carl," in the communication already mentioned, was, that Mr. Barry had concerted with others to secure the manuscript without consulting first with the gentleman from whom he had received the clew. Mr. Barry's explanation was that he tried three times in two days to find Mr. Thornton in his office; but failed. A courtesy, which Mr. Thornton thought was due to him, was prevented by an eagerness on Mr. Barry's part to lose no time, and finding Mr. Deane in correspondence with Mr. Hunter, and just at that moment settling upon the contents of a new volume of the Historical Society's Collections, which, as Chairman of the Committee of Publication, he was to edit, Mr. Barry wished Mr. Deane to write, which he did.

When Mr. Barry, a few days later, returned the book to Mr. Thornton and told him what he had done, he became aware of Mr. Thornton's feelings, and the friendship which had heretofore existed was imperilled; and the breach was not narrowed when Mr. Barry's first volume came out, and Mr. Thornton saw that Mr. Barry had used the "new facts" which had been pointed out, accompanying them with the statement that he (Barry) had found them in the Bishop of Oxford's book, and supposed the manuscript to which they were referred must be the long-lost manuscript of Bradford. Mr. Barry evidently felt that the book he quoted was a printed one, whose value to him was derived from his own sagacity in identifying the passages, and not from the marks which Mr. Thornton had put in it, and which Mr. Barry would never admit had influenced him in reaching his conclusions. Whatever the fact, this action was met by resentment on Mr. Thornton's part, which was carried so far as to preclude Mr. Deane's giving him his just dues in the preface of the printed volume, which Mr. Deane subsequently edited, inasmuch as Mr. Thornton was not willing to have his name coupled with any others in the credit of the discovery.

On ascertaining Mr. Thornton's feelings, Mr. Barry, though never yielding the point that he had made an independent discovery, expressed himself—in a letter to be shown to Mr.

Thornton — as quite willing to share the credit of it with, or indeed, to yield the principal part of the credit of it to, Mr. Thornton. He said that Mr. Thornton had owned the volume which contained the clew, had noticed the new matter and its reference to the manuscript in the Fulham Library, and had lent the volume to him; and though Mr. Thornton had not identified the manuscript as Bradford's lost History, yet he felt that he would have done so in a short time. Therefore he desired that full credit should be given to Mr. Thornton for what he was entitled to, in any statement made, in the premises. It was sufficient for *him* that Bradford's History was discovered. But this was not responded to by Mr. Thornton, and Mr. Barry felt that the grievances were not all on one side. He, therefore, on his part became indignant, and felt that he must protect his own rights; but of the anonymous representations in the newspapers he never took any public notice.*

The letter which Mr. Deane wrote to Mr. Hunter † covered an original letter of Governor Bradford, which Mr. Deane chanced to possess, and it was enclosed to furnish a comparison with the handwriting of the manuscript. Mr. Hunter's replies ‡ established beyond doubt that the manuscript was what Anderson had already declared it to be, though this evidence, as we have seen, was unknown to Mr. Hunter and the others. The transcript was received August 3, with a note, dated July 14, from Mr. Hunter, which has been printed by Mr. Deane, who proceeded at once to prepare the copy for the press, from which it issued with a preface dated April 16, 1856, and enriched with Mr. Deane's annotations. It appeared both as a separate publication and as one of the series of this Society's Collections.

In 1860 the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, through a friend,

* So much time having since passed, and both of the gentlemen having gone from us, Mr. Deane and myself have judged it to be fitting that the contemporary evidence, lodged with Mr. Deane by both of them, should be made public, and in connection with printed statements it has been made use of in this brief recital. It consists, beside what is in print already, of a letter from Mr. Barry to Mr. Deane, which has in the main been given in the text; some notes on this letter by Mr. Thornton, lacking in explicitness in some essential points; and a memorandum by Mr. Barry, of his consultations during the two days subsequent to the identification. I have not given heed to recollections by others of statements made by Mr. Barry and Mr. Thornton, preferring to depend on evidence under their own hands.

† It is given in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., vol. ii. p. 602.

‡ March 12 and 19, 1855, given in Mr. Deane's preface and in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, April 12, 1855, p. 21, when Mr. Deane announced the discovery to the Society.

the late Venerable John Sinclair, M.A., Archdeacon of Middlesex, brought the question of restoring the manuscript to this country to the attention of the then Bishop of London. It was urged that the sanction of the Queen would be ample authority for the transfer, and that it would be "a conciliatory act if the Prince of Wales [then about to visit America] were to take it across the Atlantic and present it to the people of Massachusetts." The late Attorney General, Sir Fitzroy Kelly, had kindly entertained the proposition, saying, "It would be an exceptionable act of grace on a most interesting occasion, and I heartily wish success in the application." The Bishop however, took another view. "The difficulty," he said, "of alienating property of this kind could, I believe, only be got over by an Act of Parliament."

The Civil War which soon followed precluded for a while all possibility of action under the course presented by the Bishop. In 1866 Mr. Charles Deane, as already stated, visited Fulham and saw the manuscript, and collated it in parts with the printed copy. A few weeks later the late Dr. Samuel F. Haven also inspected it.

Early in 1869 Mr. John Lothrop Motley was appointed Minister to England, and the present writer, then in charge of the Public Library in Boston, in whose custody was the Prince Library, brought the question of its return to his attention. Mr. Motley expressed much interest in the matter, and it was particularly represented to him that it might be urged on the ground of reciprocity, since some valuable and ancient state papers of England had been found a few years before in the Philadelphia Library, and returned to the custody of the Queen's government.* Mr. Motley on his arrival in England was met with the same declaration which had been urged by the Bishop nine years earlier, and before any steps could be taken to bring a bill before Parliament Mr. Motley was recalled.

In October, 1877, I renewed the proposition in a company of literary friends in London, and was urged to confer with the then Bishop. I went to Fulham, but found the Bishop

* The volumes in question contained correspondence under the Privy Seal of King James I., relating to Irish affairs, together with a manuscript diary of Lord Clanricard, and when seen by Hepworth Dixon during his visit to this country were recognized as of value, and subsequently found to fill a hiatus in the Irish Record Office. They had been given to the Philadelphia Library Company in 1799 by Henry Hamilton Cox, whose singular career is told with embellishments by Bayard Taylor in the "Atlantic Monthly," March, 1868, under the name of "A Strange Friend"; and the documents were surrendered to the British government in 1867.

was absent. The steward, however, showed me the manuscript, and took the letter intended for the Bishop, who on his return sent for me, but his invitation reached London just as I was embarking for home, and the pleasure was necessarily declined.

In 1880 Professor William Watson Goodwin of Harvard College inspected the manuscript at Fulham.

In 1881, incident to the unprecedented expression of kindly feeling which sympathy for this country in its affliction for the wounding and death of President Garfield created in Great Britain, Mr. Benjamin Scott, the Chamberlain of London, suggested in the public prints of London, that it was a fitting moment to make this restitution. This proposition has caused some interest once more in the manuscript, and is the occasion of the present attempt to trace its history.

The Rev. Dr. ELLIS spoke of the large collection of books, pamphlets, and broadsides relating to America made by George III., who at the beginning of the Revolutionary struggle instructed the government officials in this country to collect and send him whatever information about America they could find. This valuable collection is in the British Museum.

A Committee was appointed to revise and correct the by-laws of the Society, there being at this time an occasion for a new edition. Messrs. Winsor, Smith, and Porter were named as the Committee.

Before the adjournment of the meeting, the PRESIDENT presented to the Library a copy of "King's Mountain and its Heroes," by our Corresponding Member, Lyman C. Draper, LL.D., and spoke of it as an interesting and valuable work, exhibiting great research, and giving an exhaustive account of a battle which turned the tide of the war in the South, and did much toward securing the ultimate success of the American struggle for Independence.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1881.

The stated monthly meeting was held at the Society's rooms in Boston, on Thursday, the 8th instant, at 3 o'clock P. M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting, and it was accepted.

The Librarian presented the monthly list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters accepting membership from Messrs. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., John T. Hassam, and William Wirt Henry.

The PRESIDENT, in announcing the death of an Associate Member, the Hon. Solomon Lincoln, spoke as follows:—

I was in hopes, Gentlemen, that the record of this last stated meeting for the present year might have been free from any thing of an obituary character. But "we cannot hold mortality's strong hand." The shafts have fallen so thickly of late, and upon so many shining marks, that the phrases of eulogy are wellnigh exhausted. No less than nine names have been stricken from our resident roll during this year 1881. The ninth is that of the Hon. Solomon Lincoln, of Hingham, who died on the 1st of this month in his 78th year.

He had been one of our members for at least thirty-five years. And it is nearly fifty-five years since he might well have been a member,—having as long ago as 1827 published a history of his native town of Hingham, exhibiting the care and research which are the best qualifications for our membership.

Mr. Lincoln was a worthy representative of the Old Colony,—a good citizen of his ancient town, a good senator in our State legislature, a good United States Marshal for this District, a faithful and trustworthy president of the Webster Bank in this city, and always, in each successive sphere, a man of conscientious convictions which could not be shaken.

Our very last volume contains a labor of love in our behalf in the shape of a Memoir which he had prepared of the late Rev. Charles Brooks, one of our former associates.

It is a somewhat striking coincidence that, in the records of that last June meeting, three Memoirs are found reported

from three of our then living members, who have already become subjects for Memoirs themselves.

I am instructed by the Council to report the customary Resolution:—

Resolved, That in respectful remembrance of our associate, Hon. Solomon Lincoln, whose death has been announced to us, the Council be instructed to provide for the preparation of a Memoir for our Proceedings.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

The PRESIDENT then spoke of one of the recent gifts to the Society's Library:—

Among the new books which have been added to our Library since the last meeting is the memoir, or sketch, of Edward Coles, second Governor of Illinois, prepared for the Chicago Historical Society by Hon. E. B. Washburne, late United States Minister at Paris.

It is a most interesting and valuable little volume, and it contains a record of a character and career well worthy of being recorded. Governor Coles was an Honorary Member of our Society, and at our meeting in December, 1868, I took some notice of his death, which had occurred in the previous July. He was long a friend of my father as well as of myself, and I had a warm regard for him. But I had hardly realized how early and leading a part he had taken in regard to African slavery, and how much he had done to prevent its introduction into the Western Territory. His correspondence with Mr. Jefferson as early as 1814—now first printed, I believe—certainly entitles him to be remembered among the very foremost advocates of Emancipation. This little volume, which is well worth the reading of us all, exhibits him as, indeed, second to no one in our land of the philanthropists in that line.

The Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D.D., of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member, and M. le comte d'Haussonville, of Paris, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. DEANE, in the absence of the Cabinet-keeper, who was the Chairman of a Committee of the Council to consider an application made by Mr. Isaac Winslow for the return to him of a chair and table commonly known as the Winslow chair and table, reported that the Committee had examined the various records of the Society, and found that these articles

were deposited in 1835 by the heirs of John Winslow, Esq., of Marshfield, and that Mr. Isaac Winslow was the survivor of these heirs, and held a receipt for them signed by Mr. J. B. Felt as Librarian in 1847.

The Recording Secretary of 1835, in making up the minutes of the April meeting of that year, recorded a *donation* from the heirs of John Winslow, Esq.; and these articles had since that time been generally regarded by our members as the Society's property, and treated as such. The presiding officer occupied the ancient chair at the meetings of the Society for many years. This was cleansed and provided with a cushioned seat embroidered with Governor Winslow's device, — a pelican feeding her young, — in 1844, at the care and charge of Judge Davis. It appeared, however, from an entry made in the book of accessions to the Library at the time, that these articles were *deposited*. And in a list of articles left on deposit made by Mr. Felt, in accordance with a vote of the Society in October, 1842, these articles are named as deposits, and Mr. Isaac Winslow recognized as their owner. Under these circumstances, the Committee recommended that the table and chair be restored to Mr. Winslow.

The report had been made to the Council at their meeting this day, and that body had agreed to have it presented to the Society for action. It was voted to accept the report, and to surrender the Winslow table and chair to Mr. Isaac Winslow.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR, for the committee appointed at the last meeting to revise the By-laws, reported a few amendments, all of which were, after discussion, adopted.*

The PRESIDENT announced the following appointments of members to prepare Memoirs of deceased associates: General F. W. Palfrey to prepare a memoir of the Hon. John C. Gray; Rev. R. C. Waterston, of Dr. George B. Emerson; Rev. E. G. Porter, of the Hon. Charles Hudson; Rev. E. F. Slafter, of Mr. C. W. Tuttle; Hon. E. R. Hoar, of Judge Seth Ames; Mr. C. Deane, of Dr. S. F. Haven; Rev. J. F. Clarke, of the Rev. Dr. W. Newell; and Judge Lowell, of his father, the Hon. John A. Lowell.

The Rev. Dr. HENRY M. DEXTER read an interesting paper controverting the opinion advanced by Mr. S. H. Gay, in his history of the United States, and later in his article in the "Atlantic Monthly," in reference to the place of the landing of

* The By-laws in the new draft are printed below, pp. 182-193. — Eds.

the Pilgrims, Dec. 21, 1620. He presented an argument, from the topography of the harbor, the depth of water in the channel, and the extent of shallows and flats, that Plymouth was the easiest and most natural place at which the shallop could make a landing; particularly as it was not a mere stepping on shore that was intended, but the finding of a good harbor and a place to settle down upon, "fitt for situation."

Colonel HENRY LEE called attention to the interesting letter of J. H. Voss, the eminent German scholar, published in the last number of the "Literary World," for December 3, in which an account is given of Major John André's departure from Göttingen to join his regiment, Nov. 1, 1772. There is much obscurity over the early years of André's life, and while his biographers seem to have known of his residence at one time in Germany, there has been no mention made of his connection with a university there.

M. Jules Marcou, a Corresponding Member, presented, through Mr. DEANE, a copy in bronze of a reproduction of the rare diplomatic medal. This medal was intended to be given to European diplomatic agents sent to this country, who, during their residence here, had rendered special service to our Union. Two medals struck in gold were given by Washington's order in 1790,—one to the Marquis de la Luzerne, the other to the Count de Moustier. M. Marcou bought, in 1867, from a dealer in coins, on the Quai, in Paris, a lead proof of this medal, which he thus describes: "A lead proof, in two parts, waxed on a piece of board, and in a frame, as the engravers of medals arrange the proofs of dies." He found two copies of the medal itself in the great collection of M. Gatteaux, a gallery of treasures which that gentleman intended to bequeath to his country, for the Museum of the Louvre, but which was totally destroyed by fire during the devastations of the furious *commune* in 1871. M. Marcou's interesting reproduction was made at the United States Mint, in Philadelphia.* The thanks of the Society were voted for this acceptable addition to the Cabinet.

Mr. DEANE communicated, as a gift to the Society, a small parcel of manuscripts placed in his hands for that purpose by the Rev. George M. Folsom, of Cambridge, should they prove, on inspection, to be worth saving. They appear to have come from the family of the Rev. Nicholas Gilman, of Exeter (H.C.,

* For accounts of this medal, see Mr. J. F. Loubat's "Medallic History of the United States," vol. i. pp. xxix, xxx, 115-126; and "American Journal of Numismatics," vol. ix. pp. 65, 78. M. Marcou's story of his discovery of the lead proof is at the last citation.—Eds.

1724), subsequently minister of Durham. They consist of a few sermons, more abstracts of sermons, a few letters, and miscellaneous papers. Many of the papers are in a mouldy condition and uninviting to the eye. There is one letter from John Seccombe (H.C., 1728, author of "Father Abby's Will"), dated "Cambridge, March 30 [1729], about 9 Oc. at night," to Nicholas Gilman of Exeter, giving the usual college gossip, — *e. g.*, who had been degraded, who had been admonished for playing cards and stealing turkeys, and for turning up a penny to see which of two culprits should perform the office of prayer in his chamber; that is, "for making a mock of prayer."

Gilman had a call to settle in Newmarket, and the following is the offer of the parish, dated March 18, 1728-9, found among these papers: —

"The offer of the committee of the parish of Newmarket to the reverend Mr. Nicholas Gillman is — One hundred pounds annually and one hundred pounds toward his settlement, and twenty acres of land as convenient to the meeting-house as possible may be purchased, and also one hundred acres of land or upwards in the common"; signed by "Joseph Hall, Andrew Gleden, Thomas Young, these in behalf of the rest of the committee." Mr. Gilman, it is believed, did not finally accept this offer, — though he may have intended to do so at first, as Seccombe, in the above letter, speaks of wishing to attend the ordination, — and the Rev. John Moody was ordained here in the following year. Gilman was settled in Durham in 1741.

Among the scraps of papers here is one headed: "1741, Nich^o. Gilman, Books Lent," followed, in one column, by a list of some seventy-five titles of books, with the names of the borrowers, in another list, against each. It is safe to say that such books would hardly circulate in the Boston Public Library to-day, or anywhere else; and their appropriate place would be in the General Theological Library, among books never expected to be asked for.

There is one manuscript among these papers of more interest. It is a small book of some forty pages, in the handwriting of Dr. Benjamin Colman, the first minister of Brattle Street Church, in Boston. It will be remembered that that church was founded without the approbation of the other churches in Boston, particularly in opposition to Increase and Cotton Mather. In reply to the "Manifesto" of their principles, which they issued in a half-folio sheet, in November, 1699, Increase Mather sent out a book called "The order of

the Gospel professed by the church of Christ in New England." To this the Brattle Street Church rejoined in a tract entitled "Gospel Order Revived, Being an Answer to a Book lately set forth by the Reverend Mr. *Increase Mather*, President of *Harvard College*, &c., entitled, *The Order of the Gospel*. &c. Dedicated to the Churches of Christ in *New England*, By *sundry of the Ministers of the Gospel in New England*. . . . Printed in the year 1700."

The authorship of the tract last named is attributed to Colman, though it is supposed he had the assistance of others. The little manuscript book found here, in Colman's hand, is, apparently, the original draft of the printed book, largely rewritten, however, before it was sent to the press. The titlepage reads: "Gospel order reviewed [not revived], being an answer to a book lately set forth by the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, president of Harvard Colledge, in New England, & teacher of a church of Christ in Boston, intituled gospel order, wherein the assertions are examined, and brought to the ballance, & some weighed & found wanting. Dedicated to the churches of Christ in New England. By the undertakers of the new church in Boston." . . .

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Folsom for the gift communicated through Mr. Deane.

Mr. DEANE said that his attention had been called to a passage in one of President Stiles's note-books, preserved among the "Holmes Papers," in the Society's Library, evidently kept preparatory to a history of New England, contemplated and partly written by him. In citing his authorities, the President refers to Johnson's "Wonder Working Providence," which, he says, was "printed in 1658, in a collection ascribed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as published by his grandson, who, however, disclaimed it in the following advertisement in the 'Mercurius Publicus' of Thursday, Sept. 13, 1660." Then follows the extract from that paper, as read by Mr. Deane at the meeting of the Society in June last, and published in the Proceedings for that month, vol. xviii. p. 435.

This note-book of Dr. Stiles's, which is dated at the beginning, Feb. 12, 1772, was shown to Mr. Deane by the Recording Secretary, who arranged the "Holmes Papers," and prepared a description of them for the Proceedings of September, 1879.

Mr. GEORGE DEXTER stated that he had just received from the Public Record Office in London copies of certain letters

of Governor Hutchinson, and other papers, to which the attention of the Society was called by Mr. Winsor and Professor Torrey at the October meeting, and the procuring of which was referred to the committee to publish the Proceedings.

The value of these letters is lessened by the fact that the abstracts given in Mr. Roberts's calendar are very full, and contain nearly the *ipsissima verba* of the writer. Still, as these calendars are not as well distributed in this country as they might be, and as the letters are interesting, it seems best to reproduce them here: —

Entry Book lettered "Domestic, Geo. III." Vol. 11, pp. 2-7.

[In margin.] *Gov. Hutchinson. Boston, 22 Jan^r, 1771.*
(Private.) *B 30th March.*

MY LORD, — The disorders in the colonies do not seem to have been caused by the defects in the forms or constitutions of government. They have not prevailed in the several colonies in proportion as one colony has been under a more popular form of government than another. They must be attributed to a cause which is common to all the colonies, a loose, false, and absurd notion of the nature of government which has been spread by designing, artful men, setting bounds to the supreme authority, and admitting parts of the community and even individuals to judge when those bounds are exceeded, and to obey or disobey accordingly.

Whilst this principle universally prevails in any community, be the form of government what it may, or rather let it have what name it will, for it, must be a name only, there can be no interior force exerted, and disorder and confusion must be the effect.

When this principle prevails through any distinct parts of a community, and there is no apprehension of force from the supreme authority of the whole or from any power exterior to such parts, the effect is the same in those distinct parts, as it is in the whole community when the principle universally prevails there.

Measures for reforming the constitution of any people under such circumstances will probably be ineffectual, and tend to increase their disorders.

The colonies were under these circumstances when I wrote my first private letter to your Lordship. There was a general opinion prevailing that they had it in their power to distress the kingdom by withdrawing their commerce from it, and that there was not the least danger of any compulsory measures to cause obedience to any acts or orders respecting them. In this colony there was room to hope for a change of circumstances, but it was uncertain and probably at a distance.

They had just felt the shock of that most fortunate stroke which freed the castle from any dependence upon the people, and kept the

harbor and town of Boston under the command of the king's ships, but the effects did not appear. I was striving for a just decision in the case of the soldiers, and not without hopes, but far from being certain of success. There was a prospect of the dissolution of the confederacies against importation, though several of the colonies appeared to be more resolute and confirmed. There was also an expectation of a rupture between Great Britain and France or Spain, or both, which would tend to show the people their dependence upon the kingdom and the reasonableness of their submission to the supreme authority of it.

I was not insensible of the peculiar defects in the constitution of this province, and I have complained of the Council as being under undue influence, and casting their weight into that scale which had much too great proportion before; but I was doubtful myself, and I found some judicious persons in whom I could confide to be doubtful, also, whether while the body of the people continued in the state they were then in, such councillors as should be appointed by the Crown would dare to undertake the trust, or if they should do it, whether the people in general would not refuse to submit to their authority, and I feared the consequences of either would more than countervail the advantages which would arise merely from an alteration in the constitution if accomplished.

To this state of our affairs and a mind influenced by it, I beg your Lordship to attribute that want of determination which appeared in my private letters, and not to any degree of unwillingness to trust with your Lordship my real sentiments upon any occasion whatsoever.

The change in the temper of the people has been brought about sooner and to a greater degree than anybody could expect, and we seem now to be as well prepared either to receive such a change in the constitution as we probably shall be at any time hereafter, or if it shall be thought more eligible to defer it, we may probably remain in tolerable good order until such time as shall be judged more convenient, provided something is done in the mean time which shall discover the resentment of the kingdom against our avowed principles and the practices consequent upon them, and which shall give us cause to imagine that farther measures are to be taken with us. Such resentment has been everywhere expected. If omitted we shall go back to our former disorders.

That wise step of changing the garrison at the castle began our cure. In the height of our confusion a citadel upon Fort Hill seemed also to be necessary. I now think the same end is answered without it as would have been with it. It may, however, not be improper for the king to have the actual possession of that spot, either by erecting at a small expense a warehouse or magazine for stores, or by making some kind of enclosure to restrain from encroachments, and yet not prevent the inhabitants from using the place to walk and air themselves in as they now frequently do. There is a vote of the town for selling it. I will watch their motions, and if anything farther is attempted will take public notice of it. If no farther advances are made for

securing the good behavior of the town there certainly will be no receding. To depart suddenly from what has been done at the castle &c. would be very dangerous.*

Every act of Parliament carried into execution in the colonies tends to strengthen government there. A firm persuasion that Parliament is determined at all events to maintain its supreme authority, is all we want; few or none are now so weak as to question their power to do it. If acts were passed more or less to control us every session, we should soon be familiarized to them, and our erroneous opinions would die away and peace and order would revive.

An act to enable the king to alter the bounds of the province by his commission, the charter notwithstanding, by making the Province of Main and country east of it a distinct and separate province, and to annex or not annex, as His Majesty may think fit, New Hampshire to the Massachusetts, or to separate the country east of Penobscot, and annex it to Nova Scotia, might either be kept as a rod over us, and a security for our good behavior, until the king's pleasure should be determined; or if it should be executed immediately, it would show a just resentment against the province for countenancing the intrusions in the Eastern country, whereby the king's timber is exposed to waste and havoc, and it would be a striking instance of the power and authority of Parliament. The act would be executed, for nobody would risk their property, or be concerned in any judicial proceedings relative to it, under a jurisdiction assumed contrary to an Act of Parliament, seeing such proceedings sooner or later will be deemed a nullity.

If no exception be taken to the vesting such a discretionary power in the Crown, perhaps it may be thought expedient whenever the charter and case of the province comes under consideration, instead of expressly declaring that the power of electing councillors by the Assembly shall determine and cease, to enable His Majesty by his royal order or declaration to determine it, and to appoint a Council instead thereof, as he may think proper.

The late act permitting the issuing bills of credit at New York was extremely well adapted to maintaining the authority of Parliament; and others of the like nature might be mentioned as convenient to be passed here.

I hope to receive your Lordship's directions concerning the two officers at the castle, which I thought necessary for His Majesty's service to continue in pay, and which is all the expense I have occasioned since the withdrawal of the garrison.

I took the liberty to mention to your Lordship the case of Captain Phillips, the late commanding officer at the castle.† He is without

* On the change of the garrison at Castle William see, among other accounts, Hutchinson's "History," vol. iii. pp. 807-812; and Wells's "Life of Samuel Adams," vol. i. pp. 855-862. — Eds.

† Captain John Phillips was made fort major of the castle the next year at the instance of Mr. John Temple, afterward Sir John. See his letters in the Proceedings for February, 1872, pp. 207-211; and notice particularly Temple's statement in the letter on p. 210. — Eds.

support for himself and family, and is by far the greatest sufferer of any belonging to the late garrison, his place being worth between two and three hundred pounds sterling a year.

I hope the rest of the garrison being scattered abroad will never occasion any charge to the Crown. He presses me very hard, and though his removal was absolutely necessary and I did my duty, yet as I was the immediate instrument, his case affects me more sensibly; and this is all which moves me to apply in his behalf, having no sort of connection with him. I could not refuse his request to transmit to your Lordship his petition to the king, but I let him know it must be presented or suppressed, just as your Lordship should think fit. As it respected his military post I was in doubt of the propriety of his address to His Majesty *in Council*, but if those words are necessary I have authority from him to pray they may be added.

I am taking every measure in my power consistent with the honor of Government, to reconcile Civil and Military, Whigs and Tories, and we begin to be sensible that it must be a very bad constitution, indeed, which is not preferable to the savage state we have been in for some years past.

I have, &c.,

THO^S. HUTCHINSON.

- [Enclosures :] 1. Petition of John Philips, late Capt. Lieut. of the garrison of Castle William in the Harbour of Boston.
2. A Boston Gazette.

Entry Book lettered "Domestic, Geo. III." Vol. 11, pp. 7-9.

[In margin.] *Boston, 4th Feby., 1771. Gov^r. Hutchinson. (Private.) J. P. R. 30th March.*

DEAR SIR,—I wrote to General Gage that the prospect of war made it necessary that immediate care should be taken about the platforms and carriages at the castle. He writes in answer as follows: "I have had, previous to your letter, some talk with Captain Montresor concerning the platforms, who is to lay a state thereof before me; and unless necessity urges it, the state of them and an estimate of the expense of the repairs must be transmitted home for approbation before any works of this kind can be undertaken." I had wrote before that the timber must be cut in winter and seasoned, or it would cost double price. A few weeks more will make it too late for this season. The Assembly was so sensible of the want of these repairs, that if the exchange of the garrison had been delayed a month longer what was called the committee for the castle would have contracted for all the materials. I think it is not possible the castle should be put up on the old footing. Nothing could have a greater tendency to hurt Government. If this is not to be the case, it will be no advantage to delay the repair, but it may be of fatal consequence.

I cannot help observing that the exclusion of the governor from the direction of these repairs is derogatory in the eyes of the people, and they say does not consist with what I have endeavored to persuade them to believe, — that I still retain that command over the castle which is given to the governor by charter and by his commission.

If the governor is to be excluded, I know of no person who I should wish to have the sole direction rather than General Gage, with whom I have always preserved a perfect harmony; and I mention these things in a private letter to you, because I would have nothing appear which may have the least tendency to interrupt it. If it be determined to be most proper that the direction of the castle should continue in all respects as it is at present, I am afraid it will occasion trouble; but I will, notwithstanding, do all I can to prevent it.

I am, &c.,

HILLSBOROUGH.*

Entry Book lettered "Domestic, Geo. III. Vol. 11," p. 83.

[In margin.] *Boston, 15th August, 1771. Gov. Hutchinson. J. P. Rec^d 29 Oct.*

DEAR SIR, — I may not suffer Commodore Gambier to leave us without a letter to you, to inform you of the assistance I have received from him in the administration of government, being ever ready to join in promoting conciliating measures as far as could consist with the support of authority; and as he was ordered here for a purpose far from agreeable to the people, I think it much to his honor that he has been able to acquire so general an esteem without conceding to any of their irregularities.

I am, &c.,

THOS. HUTCHINSON.†

Entry Book lettered "Domestic, Geo. III. Vol. 11," pp. 81-83.

[In margin.] *1771. Boston, 25th Aug^t. Gov. Hutchinson. B. 29th October.*

MY LORD, — Mr. Henry Barnes, who lately arrived from England, has requested me to cover a letter from him to your Lordship, and to make a representation of his services and sufferings in the cause of Government. He has not acquainted me with the contents of his letter. He certainly has suffered greatly by his refusing to comply with the scheme of non-importation, and by his endeavors to support the authority of the magistrate; but in his solicitations for compensation

* So entered, but clearly a mistake of the copyist. — *Note in the copy received from England.*

† See below, p. 140. — Eds.

he discovers more impatience than I could wish, which I am willing to attribute to a mind chafed with the troubles he has met with, and impressed with a strong sense of his merit, which he supposes to exceed that of many others who have received the favors of Government. He complains of my neglecting him in not particularly recommending his case to your Lordship when he went to England; and though he did not ask it of me, yet concluded that I had done it in the course of my public correspondence as governor of the province. I transmitted an account of the incendiary letters sent him, and I would have been more particular if he had desired it of me.

For his general character, which is very good, I thought he depended on Sir Francis Bernard, who I knew held him in esteem, and to whom he was more particularly known than to me. If there was any thing in the province in my disposal worth his acceptance I would give it him; but there is not.

Permit me, my Lord, to take this opportunity of making my grateful acknowledgments to your Lordship for His Majesty's warrant to the commissioners of the customs for the payment of my salary. The fund upon which this warrant is charged would rise to a very large sum if the illicit trade with Holland could be prevented.

The consumption of tea in America exceeds what anybody in England imagines. Some persons capable of judging suppose five-sixths of what has been consumed the two last years has been illegally imported; and in Philadelphia and New York it is judged nine-tenths.

In my letter to your Lordship of the 14th inst., I expressed my hopes that a vigorous pursuit of the illicit traders by the cruisers would discourage the trade; but I am informed they make such an extravagant profit that it will require more frequent seizures to discourage it than we have any reason to hope for.

If the India Company had continued the sale of their teas at 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d., as they sold them two years ago, the Dutch trade would have been over by this time; but now that teas are 3s. and upwards in England, the illicit trader can afford to lose one chest in three, whereas I am very sure not one in a hundred has been seized.

The custom-house officers on shore have strong inducements to do their duty, but they are really afraid of the rage of the people. The sea-officers have of late been more active than formerly, and Admiral Montague appears disposed to keep out his cruisers. I doubt, notwithstanding, whether this trade will ever be discouraged in any other way, especially in New York and Philadelphia, than by reducing the price of tea in England, to the exporter, very near the price in Holland. For want of this, the revenue, by a moderate computation, has lost the last and present year at least sixty thousand pounds sterling from the 3d. duty only, besides what it would have left in England over and above the drawback.

Your Lordship has encouraged me when any thing occurs for His Majesty's service, though out of my immediate department, to suggest it. I believe the cruising vessels are capable of doing more towards suppressing the illicit trade than the officers ashore. They should

therefore be excited to their duty by a reward in proportion to their activity.

The commanding officer of the squadron may very well retain the same share of the seizure which he is now entitled to, because the direction of the whole depends upon him; but it seems that a greater proportion is necessary for the particular officer who makes the seizure under a commission from the customs, than what he is now entitled to. If the officers on shore were not entitled to one-third, or a larger proportion, we should have no seizures made on shore; and I believe the remissness of the sea-officers is very much owing to the small share which he who makes the seizure is entitled to, which might be one-third of the whole with as much reason as to the officer on shore.

I the rather suggest this to your Lordship, because I have discovered, when I have sworn some of the navy-officers to qualify them for their commissions from the customs, a great indifference and a disinclination to make themselves obnoxious to the people without any great advantage to themselves.

I am, &c.,

THOS. HUTCHINSON.

Entry Book lettered "Domestic, Geo. III. Vol. 11," pp. 25-28.

[In margin.] *Gov. Hutchinson. J. P. R. 13th Sep^r*

Boston, August, 1771.

DEAR SIR, — I enclose to you Sir Francis Bernard's newspapers, that you may see what sort of a correspondence is carried on between the House and their agent. The clerk of the House is the reputed writer of the illiberal and seditious pieces in the newspapers, and furnishes these letters to serve the same though he knows their agent cannot be pleased with it.* This doctrine of independence must sooner or later become a serious affair, and the same spirit which denied the authority of Parliament to make laws now denies the authority of the king to give instructions to his governor. I have so often wrote my sentiments of the danger of suffering such doctrine in any part of the Legislature especially to pass without notice that I need not repeat them.

In the paper of the last date you will see an account of a verdict for two thousand pounds sterling damages in an action brought by Mr. Otis for an assault and battery by Mr. Robinson, commissioner of the customs. Both parties have appealed to the Superior Court. It is not impossible that a jury there may have as little regard to law and evidence as they seem to have had here. Robinson may appeal to the king in Council, but the charter provides that the judgment shall be first satisfied, and security given to refund in case the judgment shall be reversed. Besides, will there be no difficulty in the taking cogni-

* Samuel Adams was the clerk of the House. — Eds.

zance of an action of this nature which wholly depends upon evidence? Has not an appeal in an action of the same nature from New York been dismissed? There is, however, this difference that, by our charter, all personal actions without distinction where the value exceeds three hundred pounds are subjected to an appeal. I will endeavor that the action may be continued at the Superior Court to another term.

As Mr. Robinson is now in England he will be able to judge whether it is advisable for him to return, for, keeping out of the province, he may prevent the judgment having any effect, no special bail being given.

If it be thought best to bring it before the king in Council he may as well be here as not, for the money must be paid; and if the appeal is not claimed in fourteen days after judgment it cannot be received.

Neither the judges nor the Attorney-General are clear in the discharge of Richardson without some further evidence of His Majesty's pardon, which it does not appear to them ever has been done. If a copy could be procured of the Newgate Pardon attested I hope it may be sufficient. I am not acquainted in what manner pardons are passed for such persons, whose sentences are respited in the several counties in England, but if it be usual to insert the names of such persons in the Newgate pardons, I wish to be furnished with a certificate that it is so. It is a hard case upon this poor fellow to lie so long in a horrid gaol; but I can do no more for him than I have done; and it is compassion which moves me to ask this further trouble from you.*

I am, &c.,

THOMAS HUTCHINSON.

[Enclosures:] 1. A Boston Gazette of July 22d, 1771.
2. A Boston Gazette of July 29th.
3. A Boston Gazette of August 1st.

Entry Book lettered "Domestic, Geo. III." Vol. No. 11, pp. 34-36.

[In margin.] *Boston, 10th Sep^r. 1771. Gov^r. Hutchinson. R^y 29th October.*

MY LORD. — Your Lordship does me great honor by your private letter of the 30th of May, which I did not receive until after I had closed my last letter to your Lordship of the 25th of August.

Having made the illicit trade with Holland the principal subject of that letter, I beg leave now to submit to your consideration an estimate of the consumption of Bohea tea in America.

From the best accounts I can obtain from the dealers in teas the two towns of Boston and Charlestown consume a chest, or about 340 lbs., per day, one day with another. These two towns are not more than one-eighth, perhaps not more than one-tenth, part of the province. Suppose they consume only 300 chests in the year, and

* See Hutchinson's "History," vol. iii. p. 237 n. — Eds.

allow that they are one-eighth, it will make 2,400 chests for the whole province.

This is much short, for in the country towns there is more tea drank in proportion than at Boston. This province is not one-eighth part of the colonies; and in other governments, New York especially, they consume tea in much greater proportion than in this province. If it be one-eighth, the whole continent consumes 19,200 chests, which at £4 per chest, the 3*d*. duty only, amounts to £76,800; but my computation is short in every part.

In New York they import scarce any other than Dutch teas. In Rhode Island and Pennsylvania it is little better. In this province the Dutch traders are increasing, and I have frequent informations of large quantities after it is too late to take any measures to discover and seize them; and sometimes such persons are concerned as I thought could not have been capable of countenancing perjury or fraud.

I cannot help repeating to your Lordship that unless the East India Company bring the price of their teas so near to the price in Holland as to make the profit of importing teas from thence not equal to the risk, in a short time there will be scarce any teas imported from England.

Upon intimating to the Acting Collector at Falmouth in Casco Bay, that I was informed the Acts of Trade were broke every day in his district, he acknowledged it to be true, but added that the officers on shore had it not in their power to prevent it, and he suggested that the only way was to increase the number of small schooners, and to keep one or more constantly cruising in that bay rigged and fitted to appearance like fishing schooners. This, he said, would be no additional expense to the Crown, except the first cost of the schooners, which need not exceed £300 sterling each, as they might have men and stores from the ships.

We have not virtue enough to become obnoxious to the people merely from a sense of duty. It seems therefore that it would be best to have one officer only in each vessel with a commission from the customs, and he to have the command, and to be entitled to all but the king's half of the forfeiture, which would give him a good chance of making a small fortune, and stimulate him to his duty. There does not seem to be the same reason for sharing any part among the crew or other officers, as in cases of prizes taken in war, where all their lives are exposed, for in the present case there is no danger of resistance to an armed vessel, seeing all our smugglers are themselves unarmed, and depend entirely on concealment.

There may be inconveniences from this proposed measure which I do not foresee, but as I have no interest in the seizures made by the sea-officers, I hope your Lordship will pardon the suggestion, and attribute it to my sincere desire to promote His Majesty's service whenever there is the least room to hope for success.

I am, &c.,

THOMAS HUTCHINSON.

Entry Book lettered "Domestic, Geo. III." Vol. 11, pp. 41-44.

[In margin.] *Gov^r. Hutchinson. Private. J. P., Esq.*

Boston, 15th June, 1772.

DEAR SIR, — It may not be amiss to give you a more circumstantial account of my removal of the court to Boston than was proper in a public letter to my Lord Hillsborough. Before the court met, the Speaker and Mr. Hancock came to me to inquire upon what terms I would consent to their return to Boston. I let them know that if there was any thing in their address or message which tended to a denial of the king's authority to give instructions to the governor, I would not consent to it. The frivolous objections which former Houses had made that the governor has a right to move the court only in cases of necessity, because Boston was the best place, and all power was vested in the governor for the public good and the like, if, to save appearances they would insist upon inserting them, I could pass them by as not worth regarding. They encouraged me they would comply with my proposal if Mr. Adams did not prevent it, against whose art and insidiousness I cautioned them.

I formed my speech so as to avoid disobliging them, being a new House, or to take notice of any thing which had passed in former Assemblies. The Council proposed to the House a committee of both Houses to prepare a joint address or answer, which not being agreed to, they prepared a separate address as decent as I could expect, and for form sake only, I took into consideration their request. The answer of the House was drawn by Mr. Adams in a coarse, illiberal style which I should not much regard, but, knowing it came from him, I suspected he had a reserve, and after I had complied with their request would take the first occasion to observe that the House had declared that when I first removed the court, which I told them I did by the king's order, I was under no necessity of doing it. My zeal to maintain the authority of the king's instructions led me, by a message, to desire an explanation. This was improved by the faction to raise the resentment of the whole House as suspecting them of duplicity, and calculated to bring them to an explicit submission to a point which I had only required a former House to desist from disputing, and they with a general voice declared their expressions to be sufficiently plain, and would give no other answer to my inquiry. This led me to give the reason of my question, and to declare that whilst the king's authority to instruct the governor was disputed, I did not intend to remove the court. This was on the 3d of June. I soon discovered that the members universally declared that whatever the person who drew the message had in his thoughts, they had nothing more in theirs than that they could not see any necessity for my convening them at this time at Cambridge, and that except in a case of necessity, as some contagious distemper or the like, the public good required that I should have convened them at Boston. This declara-

tion had spread a general opinion through the province that the House had no design to dispute the instruction, and that notwithstanding my professions, I never had intended to remove them to Boston. The friends of Government in general pressed me to some expedient. I gave them no encouragement, and kept the court sitting ten days, the House attending to their ordinary business without any motion for a reply to my last message to them. The Council expecting a further answer to their address, which I had promised to take into consideration, I gave notice for a General Council on the 13th of June, and having gone through the other business of Council before I gave my answer, I caused the whole matter to be laid before them, and upon a full consideration of it required their opinion and advice upon their oaths whether, consistent with His Majesty's directions to me, I could remove the court to Boston. Fourteen were present, and they every one gave their voices that I might. By this formality I have manifested to the people of the province my strict regard to the king's instructions, and it will strengthen me in my adherence to them upon other points which I am yet to contest, and which I can do to greater advantage at Boston, where I can see the members at all times, than at any other place, unless it be made the seat of government, for the other business of the province will not admit of my constant absence. I shall be happy if in this affair I may have His Majesty's approbation.

You see I accepted Hancock, who has for many months gone as far with the party as has been necessary to prevent a total breach, and no farther, and his refusal to accept the place was not from any resentment for former negatives, but from an apprehension that he should show to the people he had not been seeking after it. The measure will have good consequences, and end in wholly detaching him from them, or lessening his importance if he should put himself into their hands again.

Give me leave to convey to you the grateful acknowledgments of the poor family at Plymouth, in this province, relieved by your kind interpositions in behalf of the unfortunate person who was prisoner in Lancaster Castle.

I am, &c.,

THOMAS HUTCHINSON.*

Entry Book lettered "Domestic, Geo. III." Vol. 11, p. 48.

[In margin.] *Govr. Hutchinson. J. P.*

Boston, Nov. 10th, 1772.

DEAR SIR, — The restless faction in this town have pleased themselves with hopes of fresh disturbances from the salaries proposed for the Judges of the Superior Court, and the usual first step has been

* Three short extracts from this letter have been already printed in Wells's "Life of Samuel Adams," vol. i. pp. 472, 475, 478. — Eds.

taken, — a town meeting. Hitherto they have fallen much short of their expectation, and even in this town have not been able to revive the old spirit of mobbing, and the only dependence left is to keep up a correspondence through the province by committees of the several towns, which is such a foolish scheme that they must necessarily make themselves ridiculous. Of late, in order to intimidate, they have been very frequent in their hints of the lawfulness of assassination, poisoning, &c., which, without answering their purpose in any degree, has caused some who are not of the most hardened sort to forsake them. Some of the worst of them one would not choose to meet in the dark, and three or four at least of their corresponding committee are as black-hearted fellows as any upon the globe. Strange that a government which within a century was so pure as to suffer no person to be free of their Commonwealth who was not one of their church members, should now take for their leaders men who openly condemn all religion, and should join deacons and atheists in one trust, and that they should be instigated to this by some of the clergy, who make the highest pretensions to devotion, and yet the spirit of political party produces all this.

I can have no doubt of your continuance in the same character in which I used to direct your letters, but wish, when you have leisure, to know it under your hand.

I am, &c.,

THOMAS HUTCHINSON.*

Bound volume of Papers entitled "Domestic, Geo. III. No. 9." No. 11 (a, b).

SIR, — Upon reading to my Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury a memorial of James Gambier, Esq., stating that in July, 1770, he was appointed commander-in-chief of His Majesty's ships in North America, with instructions to be particularly attentive to what should pass at Boston, that in the execution of these instructions, and in carrying on the king's service on shore, he was obliged to be at very considerable extraordinary expense, and therefore praying such compensation as my Lords shall think fit, I am ordered by their Lordships to transmit the same to you with their desire that you lay the same before the Earl of Hillsborough for his opinion thereupon.

I am, sir,

Your most humble servant,

JOHN ROBINSON.

TREASURY CHAMBERS, 3d March, 1772.

JOHN POWNALL, Esq.

[Endorsed:] Treasury Chambers, 3d March, 1772. Mr. Robinson. J. P. R 5th.

* See "Life of Samuel Adams," vol. i. p. 497, and vol. ii. pp. 1. 2. Mr. Wells gives the date of the letter in both citations as November 13. — Eds.

[Enclosure.]

To the Right Honorable the Lords of the Treasury. The memorial of James Gambier, Esq.

That your memorialist in July, 1770, was appointed commander-in-chief of His Majesty's ships in North America, with instructions "to be particularly attentive to what should pass at Boston, the colony of the Massachusetts being at that time in the utmost state of anarchy and opposition to Government, to support and protect the governor and civil magistrates and the officers of the revenue in the execution of their duty, and for enforcing a due obedience to the laws of this kingdom, the execution of which had in several instances been violently rejected; and there being reason to apprehend further disorders and violence."

That your memorialist, on his arrival, found His Majesty's affairs in that province in such a critical situation as to require the utmost exertion of zeal and attention in employing every means and measure to quiet the minds of the deluded people and bring them back to a proper sense of their duty and allegiance, and a due subordination to the power and prerogative of king and Parliament.

That your memorialist was obliged to be at a very considerable extraordinary expense in carrying on the king's service on shore, in conciliating the minds of the people, and in being assistant in the happily effecting those salutary purposes for which Administration thought necessary to send him to Boston.

For the truth and propriety of his conduct on the said service, your memorialist respectfully begs leave to refer your Lordships to the Earl of Hillsborough, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the American Department.

Your memorialist therefore hopes your Lordships will take his case into your consideration, and grant him such compensation as your Lordships shall think fit.

12 February, 1772.

[Endorsed:] Memorial of James Gambier, Esq. R. Feb. 18, 1772. Read 18 Feb. 1772. Transmit to Mr. Pownall. In Mr. Robinson's to J. P. of 3d March, 1772.

Mr. DEXTER communicated. also for publication, a manuscript record-book of the Suffolk Bar from 1770 to 1805, and presented the following introductory remarks:—

Governor Washburn, in his Judicial History of Massachusetts, says that many years passed from the time of the settlement of the country before any thing like a distinct class of attorneys-at-law existed. He thinks, indeed, that there

was no regularly educated lawyer who practised his profession here during the colonial period of our history. Thomas Lechford, who had received a legal training in England, was here only three years, and met with no success in his profession. There were men among the rulers, probably, who had been bred to the law, as Winthrop, Bellingham, and others, before the migration from their native country, but these magistrates did not appear in the courts as advocates of causes. They were judges, not lawyers. The parties in cases appeared at first in person, and spoke "themselves for the most part, and some of the Magistrates where they thinke cause requireth, doe the part of Advocates without fee or reward." * The lawyers who appeared later for the suitors were not educated to their profession. The best known, perhaps, were John Coggan, who was a merchant, Amos Richardson, who was a tailor, and Benjamin Bullivant, who was a physician and apothecary.

In 1692 a special court was created for the witchcraft trials. The attorney-general of this court, Anthony Checkley, was a merchant. He had, indeed, been sworn an attorney in 1686, and his name appears many times in that capacity in the courts, but he had also continued his business as a merchant.† Even the judges of this court, although prominent men, had received no legal education. They were, or had been, clergymen, physicians, and merchants.‡ The elder Judge Lynde was one of the earliest properly educated lawyers in the province, as he was the first trained lawyer appointed to the bench. Graduating from Harvard College in 1686, he went to London six years afterward, where he entered the Middle Temple as a student of law. He was called to the bar in 1697, and returned at once to this country with the commission of King's Advocate in the new Court of Admiralty in New England. In 1712 he was appointed a judge of the Superior Court of the Province, and became its chief justice in 1728.

Attorneys were in time recognized as officers of the court, and by an act passed June 20, 1701, a form of oath of office was prescribed to be administered to them on their admittance. This form of oath was re-enacted in 1785, after the adoption of the State constitution, and, with slight alterations, stands on the statute book to-day. By one of the provisions of an act passed in 1708, a party in any case was

* Lechford's *Plaine Dealing*, in 8 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 86.

† Washburn's *Judicial History*, p. 204.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-148.

prohibited from employing more than two lawyers, and no attorney was allowed to refuse his services if the legal fee was tendered. This act was to continue in force for three years. It was given a new life of three years more in 1711, and at the expiration of that time the act was made perpetual. The same provision, limiting the number of lawyers to be employed, appears in the act of 1785, chapter 23, regulating the admission of attorneys. In 1789 an explanatory act was passed by which the principle that citizens could appear to prosecute and defend their own suits in person, or use the services of any person of decent and good moral character, was reaffirmed. These acts were repealed by the Revised Statutes in 1836, which provided, chapter 88, § 26, that parties may appear in person or by attorney, but that no more than two persons for each party shall, without permission of the court, be allowed to manage any case therein. The same provision stands in the General Statutes.

There seems to have been no regular time of study prescribed as requisite for admission to the bar. The earliest reference I have found to this matter is an entry in the diary of Judge Lynde, under date of Aug. 4, 1718: "My son Benjamin went to his uncle, Colo. S. Browne, for 3 years." This was presumably for the purpose of preparing for his profession, but the father, having himself received a special legal education, may have required more than the ordinary professional training for his son.* John Adams, who was admitted an attorney Nov. 2, 1758, had studied with Mr. Putnam of Worcester very little more than two years, and had taught a school there at the same time that he pursued his legal studies. The attempt to pursue two callings at once, as will appear from these records, was subsequently frowned upon by the profession. The custom of requiring three years' preliminary study was adopted, Governor Washburn says, at the recommendation of the Essex Bar, just before the Revolution.† I am inclined to place the date somewhat earlier. These records show action by the bar on the subject as early as 1769, and John Adams speaks of "new rules" in 1761.‡

The distinction between barristers and attorneys was maintained for many years, and rules for the admission to the higher grade of the profession will be found in these records. In an interesting paper published in the Historical and Genea-

* Lynde Diaries, *privately printed*, Boston, 1881, p. 6.

† Washburn's Judicial History, p. 189.

‡ Life and Works, vol. ii. p. 138.

logical Register for April, 1877, at pages 206-208, Mr. Arthur M. Alger claims for Thomas Newton the honor of establishing the difference of grade in the profession in this country. Newton was born and educated in England, came over in 1688, and was the first barrister in New England. He became attorney-general and one of the deputy judges of the Court of Admiralty. "To his influence," Mr. Alger says, "may be attributed the introduction of the title of barrister, and the subsequent adoption of the distinction between barristers and attorneys."

The earliest rule of the court recognizing this distinction in the legal profession was made probably about 1761. John Adams writes in his diary of that year, "Brother [Samuel] Quincy and I were sworn before the Superior Court." * In Mr. Josiah Quincy, Jr.'s, "Reports of Cases," published for the first time in 1865, at page 35, is a memorandum of the names of the attorneys, including those of Adams and Quincy, called by the court in 1761 to be barristers-at-law. They appeared in their habits, black gowns, bands, and tie-wigs. Late in life Mr. Adams, writing to William Tudor, who had been a pupil in his office before the Revolution, intimates that Hutchinson made this rule.† One of the new rules was that none below the grade of barrister should argue cases in the Superior Court. This rule was not always enforced. Mr. Quincy notes, in his "Reports" just cited: "At the last sitting of the Superiour Court in Charlestown I argued (for the first time in this Court) to the Jury, though not admitted to the Gown: The Legality and Propriety of which some have pretended to doubt; but as no Scruples of that Kind disturbed me, I proceeded (maugre any) at this Court to manage all my own Business (for the first Time in this County), though unsanctified and uninspired by the Pomp and Magic of — the Long Robe." ‡ His son, the late President Quincy, states, in his biography of his father (page 20), that Josiah Quincy, Jr., had been passed over by the Superior Court in the distribution of honors due to his rank and standing at the bar, and omitted in the calling of barristers, because his

* Life and Works, vol. ii. p. 183.

† I pass over that scenery, which he [Hutchinson] introduced, so showy and so shallow, so theatrical and so ecclesiastical, of scarlet and sable robes, of broad bands and enormous tie-wigs, more resembling fleeces of painted merino wool than any thing natural to man and that could breathe with him. I pass over, also, the question whether he or his court had legal authority to establish a distinction between barristers and attorneys. Innovations, though often necessary, are always dangerous. — *Ibid.*, vol. x. p. 233.

‡ Quincy's Reports, p. 817.

political opinions made him obnoxious to the court. One of the early entries in this Bar Book, that dated first Wednesday in October, 1770, shows the recommendation of Mr. Quincy, apparently in due course. And President Adams, noting in his diary, July 28, 1766, the bar meeting "for the admission of three young gentlemen, — Mr. Oliver, Mr. Quincy, and Mr. Blowers," consoles himself for the "swarming and multiplying" of lawyers by the reflection that four years must elapse before these young gentlemen can assume the gown, the bar having at last introduced a regular progress to that honor, seven years being the state of probation.* It is more probable that Mr. Quincy was willing to test the legality of one at least of the court's new rules. The seven years were divided, — three of preliminary study, two of practice as attorney at the Inferior Court, and two of the same grade at the higher court.

There is no meeting of the bar recorded in this book between July, 1774, and the same month of 1778. The Revolution had begun, and the courts were suspended for over a year. Boston was a garrison, and no session of the reorganized Superior Court was held there until February, 1777. The constitution of the State was adopted in 1780, and two years later the act of July 3, 1782, established the Supreme Judicial Court, and gave that court power to make rules and regulations for the admission of attorneys and the creation of barristers. In 1783 the form of a writ for the calling of barristers was prescribed, and the seniority of these gentlemen was determined by the date of their writs.† The fee for admission as a barrister was placed at forty dollars by a provision of an act passed Nov. 4, 1785.

The decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court began to be regularly reported in 1805. In the second volume of the "Massachusetts Reports," at pages 72–75, at the close of the March term for Suffolk, 1806, the *regulæ generales* of the court are printed. In these rules the word counsellor is used as the equivalent of barrister, — "counsellors or barristers," — but the distinction between them and attorneys is maintained. The latter must practise two years in the court before applying for the higher grade. Examiners were appointed to ascertain the fitness of candidates; those for Suffolk were Parsons,

* Life and Works, vol. ii. p. 197.

† Historical and Genealogical Register, 1877, p. 207. Mr. Alger quotes there an interesting account from the "Massachusetts Gazette" of Feb. 17, 1784, of the admission of barristers, with the charge to them delivered by Chief Justice Cushing. He says that this was the last occasion of conferring the degree. — Eds.

Gore, Dexter, Otis, William Sullivan, and Charles Jackson. A small educational amendment was made in September of the same year. A year later, 1807, at the September term for Berkshire County, a new rule appears, allowing persons proposed for admission before the adoption of the rules of March, 1806, to come in under the old method. A memorandum added shows that Mr. Otis had declined his appointment as examiner, and that Joseph Hall and Francis Dana Channing were named examiners for Suffolk. At the March term for Suffolk, 1810, we find that the old rules having proved inadequate, new ones, so far as they relate to the admission of counsellors and attorneys, were adopted.* The word barrister is not used in these new rules, counsellor taking its place. The distinction of classes is still retained. It was finally abolished by the Revised Statutes of 1836.

There was an earlier association of the bar of Suffolk County than that whose records are here printed. This appears in the account of the first meeting recorded in this book, where the Secretary is directed to wait upon Judge Auchmuty and ask him for the records of the earlier society. And it was this earlier society, I think, that Mr. Adams had in his mind when he wrote in his autobiography of the changes in the courts and the bar brought about by meetings of the profession. He relates this anecdote: "Mr. Pratt was so delighted with these meetings and their effects, that when we all waited on him to Dedham, in his way to New York to take his seat as chief justice of that State, when we took leave of him, after dinner, the last words he said to us were: 'Brethren, above all things, forsake not the assembling of yourselves together.'"† Benjamin Pratt was appointed Chief Justice of New York in 1761.

This manuscript is a small quarto book of about one hundred and seventy-five pages, of which one hundred and thirty-eight are written upon. It is bound in faded calf, and in the centre of the front cover a piece of red morocco leather is inserted, with the inscription: "Bar Book, Suffolk County, 1770." It is not certainly known when or from whom the Society obtained it, but there is great probability that it was given in 1841 by the Hon. James T. Austin. The records of the April meeting of that year show a donation from that gentleman. The Librarian's accession book shows that on April 29 (the day of the meeting) Mr. Austin gave "Rules

* 6 Mass. Reports, pp. 382-385.

† Life and Works of John Adams, vol. ii. p. 58 n.

agreed to by the Barristers and Attorneys of County of Essex, March term, 1768, and other matters, a manuscript volume." The entry is in the handwriting of the Rev. Dr. Harris, then Librarian of the Society. A diligent search of the Library now fails to bring to light any manuscript with the title above cited; but the sixth page of this volume is headed in large writing, with the words used in Dr. Harris's description of Mr. Austin's gift, "Rules agreed to," &c. It seems probable that this page caught his eye when he received the volume, and that he made no further examination. But it is very strange that the morocco leather title on the outside cover escaped him. This has the appearance of having been placed upon the book about the time the records were begun.

Boston, January 3, 1770. Wednesday evening. The gentlemen of the bar met at Mr. Ingersoll's,* viz., Benjamin Kent, James Otis, Samuel Fitch, William Reed, Samuel Swift, Samuel Quincy, John Adams, Andrew Cazneau, and Daniel Leonard, Esquires, Barristers; and Francis Dana, Josiah Quincy, and Sampson Blowers, Attorneys; and *Voted*

1. That the barristers and attorneys at the Superior Court belonging to this and the neighboring towns will form themselves into a society or law club, to meet at Mr. Ingersoll's on the evening of the first Wednesday of every month for the year ensuing.

2. That the eldest barrister present preside for the evening, and if no barrister be present the eldest attorney; and that Mr. Kent † accordingly take his place for this evening as the eldest barrister.

3. That a secretary be chosen to record all votes and transactions of this Society, who accordingly proceeded to make choice of a person for that purpose by written votes, and John Adams, Esq., was declared by the President to be chosen.

4. That the Secretary wait on Judge Auchmuty, and request of him the records of a former society of the bar in this county, and invite him to meet with this Society for the future if he thinks fit.

5. That the transactions of this Society be kept secret from all persons, except barristers and attorneys of the Superior Court, upon pain of the displeasure of this Society, and such censure as they shall judge proper to inflict.

* The Bunch of Grapes Tavern, at the corner of State and Kilby Streets. — Eds.

† Benjamin Kent had graduated from Harvard College in 1727, and had been settled as a clergyman before he studied law. He has been classed among the Loyalists, and Mr. Sabine retains his name in his second edition. From these records it appears that he was present at nearly every bar meeting until April 20, 1784, when his name occurs for the last time in the list of gentlemen present. He died at Halifax in 1788, at the advanced age of eighty-one. — Eds.

1770, February 7. The gentlemen of the bar again met, but on account of the absence of a great number agreed to proceed to no business.

1770, March 7. A thin meeting, and therefore agreed to proceed to no business, excepting to appoint a committee to prepare a draft of a circular letter to be sent to the other counties of the province, to invite the concurrence and assistance of the barristers and attorneys through the province; and Josiah Quincy, Esq., was directed to prepare such a letter, and report.

1770, April 4. Josiah Quincy, Esq., reported a letter to the gentlemen of the profession in the other counties, and it was ordered to be filed with the Secretary for further consideration.

1770. First Wednesday in October. A motion was made that Messrs. Francis Dana, Josiah Quincy, and Sampson Salter Blowers be recommended to the Superior Court to be admitted as barristers, they having studied and practised the usual time; and after consideration and debate, *Voted* unanimously, That those gentlemen be recommended accordingly.

1770, November 21. Wednesday evening. At a meeting of the bar at Mr. Ingersoll's, present, Dana, Kent, Swift, Paine, Cushing, S. Quincy, Adams, J. Quincy, Blowers, and Mr. Fitch.

A motion was made by Mr. Samuel Sewall * that he might be recommended to the Superior Court, to be admitted to the oath of an attorney at that court, and produced a certificate from the clerk of the Inferior Court that he was admitted an attorney-at-law and took the oaths the first Tuesday of January, A.D. 1767. After consideration and debate, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. S. Sewall be recommended to the Superior Court accordingly.

1770, December 1. Wednesday. At a meeting of the bar a letter from the gentlemen of Essex was communicated, and Mr. R. Dana, Mr. Fitch, and Mr. Adams were appointed a committee to take it into consideration and report.

1771, January 2. Wednesday evening. At a meeting of the bar at Mr. Ingersoll's, present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Swift, Mr. Gridley,† Mr. S. Quincy, Mr. Cazneau, Mr. J. Quincy, Mr. Blowers, Mr. F. Dana.

Voted, That whenever the defendant's counsel shall point out to the plaintiff's any defect in his writ or declaration, he shall have liberty to amend upon payment of six shillings before plea pleaded. But if he will put the defendant's counsel to plead, and the writ or declaration is adjudged insufficient, he shall then pay eighteen shillings for the amendment in case an amendment is allowed him by the court, and the defendant shall choose costs instead of an imparlance. This rule to extend only to such defects in writs and declarations as shall be owing to mistake or inadvertence, or other fault of the counsel who drew the writ or his clerk.

* Great-grandson of the chief justice; a refugee, died in England in 1811.

— Eds.

† See "Life and Works of John Adams," vol. ii. pp. 221-223. — Eds.

1771, February 6. Wednesday evening. Report of the committee accepted, and Richard Dana, Benjamin Kent, John Adams, Mr. Fitch, and Mr. J. Quincy be a committee to write a letter to the counties of Plymouth, Bristol, and Barnstable, and to Essex.

Voted, That Messrs. Hichborn, Tudor, Austin, and Bulkley are to be considered as having complied with the rules from the time of their beginning to live with Messrs. Otis, Adams, and Quincy.

Rules agreed to by the Barristers and Attorneys of the County of Essex, March Term, 1768.

1. It is agreed by the barristers and attorneys of this county that where any writ or declaration shall be found by judgment of court, or otherwise, to be abatable, bad, or insufficient, the plaintiff have liberty, before a verdict, to amend the same on his payment of costs to the defendant, or granting him a continuance at the defendant's election. This rule not to extend to any writ, but such as are drawn by some regularly admitted and sworn attorney.

2. The gentlemen of the bar of the county of Essex esteeming it detrimental to the public, that persons not regularly admitted and sworn as attorneys should receive the countenance of the barristers and attorneys who are of this county and are regular practisers, agree unanimously that they will not enter, argue, or in any manner assist in the prosecution of actions brought by such persons without the consent of the bar.

5. It is agreed that we will not take any young gentleman to study with us, without previously having the consent of the bar of this county; that we will not recommend any persons to be admitted to the Inferior Court, as attorneys, who have not studied with some barrister three years at least, nor as attorneys to the Superior Court, who have not studied as aforesaid, and been admitted at the Inferior Court, two years at least, nor recommend them as barristers till they have been through the preceding degrees and been attorneys at the Superior Court two years at the least, — except those gentlemen who are already admitted in this county as attorneys at the Superior and Inferior Courts, and that these must be subject to this rule so far as is yet to come.

8. It being reasonable that we should have an allowance for receiving and paying moneys on the securities put into our hands by our clients, it is proposed the same shall be as follows; viz.:—

For every sum above forty shillings and under five pounds, three shillings; above five pounds and under ten pounds, six shillings; above ten pounds and under twenty pounds, nine shillings; for every pound above twenty pounds, fourpence.*

* There are no gaps in the manuscript. Only certain rules of the Essex Bar are copied. At the top of the page on which section 5 stands, are the words, "At Newbury Port, Sept. Term, 1769." — Eds.

Additions by the Bar of Suffolk.

To the 5th rule: That the consent of the bar shall not be taken but at a general meeting of the bar for the county, and shall not be given to any young gentleman who has not had an education at college, or a liberal education equivalent in the judgment of the bar.

To the 8th: And in case of receiving moneys for persons out of the province, remitted to them, five per cent for receiving and paying.

To the 5th, this amendment: That any young gentleman, who shall have studied with an attorney who shall have been recommended by the bar to the court to be a barrister, shall have the same privileges with those who have studied with gentlemen who have been admitted by the court to be barristers.

1771, May. First Wednesday. At a general monthly meeting of the bar for the county of Suffolk. On a motion made by Mr. Adams that he might have the consent of the bar to take Mr. Elisha Thayer, son of Ebenezer Thayer, Esq., of Braintree, a young gentleman educated at Harvard College, as a clerk; after consideration, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Adams have the consent of the bar.

On a motion made by Mr. J. Quincy, *Voted*, That Mr. Dana, Mr. Kent, Mr. Otis, Mr. Adams, and Mr. J. Quincy be a committee to prepare and forward the letters to the counties of Plymouth, Bristol, and Barnstable which were voted to be sent the 6th of February last; and also to write to every county in the province, to invite the barristers and attorneys at the Superior Court, through the province, to meet at the house of Colonel Ingersoll, King Street, Boston, on some day in Commencement week next, to consult and advise together concerning the general affairs of the profession through the province, and to dine together.

1772, July —. Monday evening. On a motion made by Mr. Fitch, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Benjamin Hichborn be recommended to the Inferior Court to be sworn as an attorney.

On a motion made by Mr. Adams, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. William Tudor and Mr. Jonathan Williams Austin be recommended to the court to be sworn as attorneys.

On a motion made by Mr. Josiah Quincy, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Bulkley be recommended in the same manner.

On a motion made by Mr. Samuel Quincy, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Quincy be allowed to take into his office Mr. Edward Walker, and that his time of three years' study be computed from the last fast day.

On a motion made by Mr. Samuel Quincy that he should have the consent of the bar to take into his office Mr. Lithgow,* son of Colonel

* This is probably the William Lithgow who, after serving with credit in the Revolution, was admitted to the bar and rose to be district attorney in Maine. He was also a major general of the militia, and a member of the Massachusetts Senate from the District of Maine. — Eds.

Lithgow, of George Town, *Voted* unanimously in the negative, it not appearing that the gentleman is qualified in point of education according to the rules of the bar.

On a motion made by Mr. Josiah Quincy, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Quincy be permitted to take into his office Mr. Thomas Edwards as a clerk.

1773, February. Wednesday evening, 24th of the month. At a meeting, on a motion made by Mr. Adams, *Voted* unanimously, That the attendance of Mr. Elisha Thayer at Mr. Adams's office in Boston for the remaining part of Mr. Thayer's three years be dispensed with under the peculiar circumstances of his case, but not to be drawn into precedent.* And that Mr. Thayer be recommended to be sworn at the end of his three years, notwithstanding his having the care of a private school at Braintree for one half of it.

Voted, also unanimously, That Mr. Nathaniel Coffin be recommended to the Superior Court to be sworn as an attorney, he having practised two years at the Inferior Court last October.

1772, September 3. At a meeting of the gentlemen of the bar at Mr. Ingersoll's, present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Otis, Mr. Fitch, Mr. Benjamin Gridley, Mr. S. Quincy, Mr. R. T. Paine, Mr. J. Quincy; a motion was made by Mr. Adams, and it was thereupon *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Adams have the consent of the bar to take into his office Mr. Jonathan Williams, son of Mr. John Williams the Inspector General, as a clerk, Mr. Williams having a fair moral character and a liberal education at Harvard College.

1772, October 21. At a meeting of the bar at Ingersoll's, present, Mr. Otis, Mr. Fitch, Mr. Swift, Mr. Gridley, Mr. Adams, Colouel Daniel Leonard, Mr. Cazneau, Mr. Blowers; a motion was made by Mr. Adams for consent to take Mr. Edward Hill, son of Mr. Alexander Hill of Boston, as a clerk, and it was thereupon *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Adams have consent, Mr. Hill having received an education at Harvard College, and having a fair character.

1774, January 12. On a motion made by Mr. S. Quincy, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Increase Sumner † be recommended to the Inferior Court this January term for the oath of an attorney, Mr. Sumner having complied with the rules of the bar.

On a motion made by Mr. Adams, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Adams have the consent of the bar to take into his office Mr. John Trumbull ‡ as a clerk, his three years to be computed from the 1st of December, A.D. 1773.

* Thayer is starred in the Triennial Catalogue as dying in 1774. — Eds.

† Afterward Governor of the Commonwealth. A memoir of him, prepared by his son, General W. H. Sumner, was published in the "Historical and Genealogical Register" for April, 1864. It is there stated that he was admitted to the bar in 1770, which is an error. — Eds.

‡ This must be Colonel Trumbull the painter, although he does not speak of the matter in his autobiography, and perhaps never really entered Mr. Adams's office. He graduated at Cambridge in 1778, and was at this time teaching school at Lebanon, Conn. — Eds.

On a motion made by Mr. Blowers, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Blowers have the consent of the bar to take into his office Mr. Nathaniel Battle as a clerk.

1774, July 26. On a motion made and seconded, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Benjamin Hichborn, Mr. William Tudor, Mr. Jonathan Williams Austin, and Mr. John Bulkley be recommended to the Superior Court in August term next, to be admitted to the oath of attorneys of that court.

On a motion made by Mr. Josiah Quincy, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Perez Morton be recommended to the Inferior Court of Common Pleas to-morrow, to be admitted to the oath of an attorney of that court.

On a motion made by Mr. Adams. *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Adams have liberty to take into his office Mr. Nathan Rice and Mr. John Thaxter as clerks.

On a motion made by Mr. Josiah Quincy, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Quincy have liberty to take into his office Mr. Joshua Thomas and Mr. Jonathan Mason as clerks; Mr. Mason's term to be computed from the time he shall come into Mr. Quincy's office, as he is not yet graduated at college.*

1778, July 21. At a meeting of the following gentlemen of the bar for the county of Suffolk at the new Court-house,† present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Sumner. *Voted*:—

1. That Mr. Tudor be secretary to record the votes and transactions of the bar.

2. On motion made by Mr. Lowell, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Daniel Newcomb be considered as having regularly studied the law since the month of September, 1775, and that he be entitled to the privileges of a student accordingly.

3. On motion from Mr. Lowell, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr.

* Joshua Thomas was probably the graduate of 1772. He went into the military service in 1775, and afterward was the president of the Plymouth County Bar. There is a memoir of him in 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. x. pp. 1-6. Jonathan Mason graduated at New Jersey College this year, and became a prominent man in Boston. He represented Massachusetts in Congress as Senator, and, later, in the House of Representatives. — Eds.

† The last term of the Superior Court was held in September, 1774. The courts were dissolved by the act passed in August, 1775, by which the commissions of the several officers of the province, civil and military, were annulled after September 19 of that year. An attempt was made the following month to reorganize the Superior Court, but it was not until March 20, 1776, that the judges were commissioned. The first court seems to have been held in Essex County in June of that year. Boston was still in the possession of the British army when, in February, 1776, the General Court passed an act altering the place for holding the courts of Suffolk from Boston to Braintree and Dedham, and making the latter the shire town. The first court was held at Braintree in September. The first term held in Boston after the siege was February, 1777. See Washburn's "Judicial History," pp. 164-166; and the note in Quincy's "Reports," p. 340.

The new Court-house was built about 1768. Josiah Quincy, Jr., notes in his "Reports," p. 306, that the March term, 1769, was the first court held in the new Court-house. — Eds.

Christopher Gore be considered as having studied the law according to the rules of the bar, since the month of July, 1776, and that he be entitled to the privileges of such a student.

4. On motion from Mr. Morton, *Voted* unanimously, That Samuel Dogget be considered as having complied with the rules of a law student from March 4, 1777, and be entitled to the privileges of a student accordingly.

5. On motion by Mr. Tudor, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Henry Goodwin be considered as a student in Mr. Tudor's office from July 1, 1778, and be entitled to all the advantages of such a student.

6. On motion by Mr. Lowell, *Voted*, unanimously, That Mr. Rufus Amory be admitted as a clerk to Mr. Lowell, and be entitled to the advantages of the bar accordingly.*

7. On motion by Mr. Tudor that Mr. Fisher Ames might be considered as a student with him from last April, and that he might be permitted to prosecute his studies at Dedham, after debate, it appearing a bad precedent, *Voted*, That a further consideration of the motion be adjourned to next bar meeting.

1779, December 3. At a meeting of the bar at the new Court-house, present, Mr. Bradbury, Mr. Kent, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Morton, Mr. Wetmore. Upon motion made by Mr. Morton, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Jonathan Mason be recommended to the Superior Court to be admitted as an attorney of said court.

Upon motion made by Mr. Tudor, that Mr. Fisher Ames might be considered as a student with him from April, 1778, although he had during that time pursued his studies at Dedham, after consideration and debate, *Voted*, That Mr. Ames be considered as a law student from the first day of January, 1779, only (this indulgence allowed from some particular circumstances in his favor), and that at the expiration of three years from that day, he continuing in Mr. Tudor's office for the future, he be recommended to be sworn only on condition that he submit to an examination by the bar, particularly in the practical business of the profession.

1780, April 29. At a meeting of the bar at Brother Hichborn's office, present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Keith, and Mr. Mason.

Upon motion made by Mr. Morton, *Voted*, That Mr. Samuel Dogget be recommended to the Inferior Court of Common Pleas this day, to be admitted to the oath of an attorney of that court.

Voted unanimously, That in future all the gentlemen of the bar who shall be in town be requested to meet on the first day on which the Inferior Court shall do jury business at each term in January, April, July, and October, at such place and hour as the Secretary shall appoint, who shall send notice accordingly.

1780, July 18. At a meeting of the bar at the new Court-house,

* At the foot of the page, in another handwriting: "'Thos. Dawes approved as a student, see p. 22.]" See the next page. — Eds.

present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, and Mr. Mason.

Upon motion of Mr. Hichborn, *Voted*, That Mr. Royal Tyler * be recommended to the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, to be admitted to the oath of an attorney at that court.

Upon motion by Mr. Lowell, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Thomas Dawes be recommended to the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, to be admitted to the oath of an attorney at that court, he having regularly studied three years in Mr. Lowell's office. (A memorandum of the time of his admission as a law student should have been made under the records of the bar meeting of July 21, 1778, but was forgot.)

Upon motion made by Mr. Tudor, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. George R. Minot be considered as a law student in Mr. Tudor's office from Nov. 8, 1778, and be entitled to all privileges accordingly.

1780, July 22. At a meeting of the bar at the new Court-house, present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Mason, Mr. Keith.

Upon motion made by Mr. Hichborn, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. James Hughes be recommended this day to the Inferior Court of Common Pleas to be admitted to the oath of an attorney at that court, he having studied for four years with Mr. Hichborn, and having received a diploma from Harvard College.

1780, October 10. Tuesday evening. At a meeting of the bar at Mr. Tudor's office, present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Mason, Mr. Robbins. †

It is unanimously agreed that eighteen shillings at least, in coin or paper money equivalent, be taken for a writ having a common declaration.

Voted, That no gentleman take a student into his office for a less consideration than one hundred pounds sterling.

On motion made by Mr. Sumner, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Sumner have liberty to take into his office Mr. Peter Clarke as a law student and clerk.

On motion from Mr. Lowell, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Benjamin Lincoln, having lived with Brother Lincoln at Worcester thirty months as a clerk, have permission to prosecute his studies for the remaining six months in Mr. Lowell's office.

1781, April 17. Tuesday. At a meeting of the bar at Mr. Tudor's office, present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Keith, Mr. Mason.

It is unanimously agreed that Mr. Benjamin Lincoln, Jr., be recommended on Friday next to the Court of Common Pleas for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court.

It is also unanimously assented to that Mr. William Hunter Tor-

* Afterward Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Vermont. — Eds.

† Edward H. Robbins, afterward Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts. — Eds.

rens, of Charlestown, South Carolina, be considered as a law student in Mr. Lowell's office from Jan. 1, 1781.

1781, July 10. Tuesday. At a meeting of the bar at Mr. Hichborn's office, present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Paine, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Morton, Mr. Keith, Mr. Mason.

On motion from Mr. Hichborn, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Jonathan Fay be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court, he having fully complied with the rules of the bar necessary for such recommendation.

1781, July 17. Tuesday. At a meeting of the bar at the new Court-house, present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Wetmore, Mr. Mason.

Upon motion from Mr. Lowell, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Edward Sohier be admitted into Mr. Lowell's office as a law student.

Upon motion by Mr. Hichborn, *Voted*, That Mr. Joseph Hall be admitted into his office as a law student.

1781, October 9. Tuesday. At a meeting of the bar at Mr. Tudor's office, present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Mason.

Upon motion of Mr. Tudor, *Voted* unanimously, after consultation and debate, That notwithstanding the vote of Dec. 3, 1779, respecting Mr. Fisher Ames, he be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court, in consideration of his having studied for four years and upwards, and his present state of health requiring a relaxation from all study; and in consideration of his cheerfully offering himself to an examination, and his moral, political, and literary character standing in the fairest point of view.

Upon motion from Mr. Lowell, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Rufus Amory be recommended to the Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court, this young gentleman having amply complied with the rules necessary for such recommendation, and his conduct being unexceptionable.

Voted unanimously, That Mr. Lowell have the consent of the bar to take into his office Mr. Edward Wendell as a law student.

1781, November 14. Tuesday. At a meeting of the bar at Mr. Tudor's office, present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Paine, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Wetmore, Mr. Mason.

Upon motion of Mr. Tudor, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. George R. Minot be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas to-morrow to be admitted to the oath of an attorney of that court.

1782, July 23. Tuesday. At a meeting of the bar at the new Court-house, present, Messrs. Sullivan, Hichborn, Parsons, Tudor, Sumner, Morton, Mason, Keith.

On motion of Mr. Sullivan, *Voted*, That he have the consent of the bar to take into his office Mr. David Leonard Barnes to finish his law course of reading, said Barnes having studied under Mr. Leonard for two years.

Voted, That the price of writs with common declarations be reduced to twelve shillings.

Voted, That a general meeting of all the gentlemen of the bar who shall be in town be held at the new Court-house in the afternoon of Tuesday, August 27, being first day of the term.

1783, July 11. At a meeting of the bar at the lobby of the Court of Common Pleas, present, Mr. Kent, the Attorney-General,* Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Keith, Mr. Robbins, Mr. Mason, Mr. Ames, Mr. Minot, Mr. B. Lincoln, Mr. Hughes.

On motion of Mr. Sullivan, *Voted*, That Mr. David Leonard Barnes be recommended to the oath of an attorney in the Court of Common Pleas.

Voted unanimously, and it is earnestly requested of all the members of the profession, That they meet at the lobby of the new Court-house in Boston on Friday, July 18, at 10 o'clock, on matters of interesting importance to the fraternity.

1783, July 30. At a meeting of the following gentlemen at the new Court-house, Mr. Kent, Mr. Paine, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Mason, Mr. Gore, Mr. Dawes.

1. Agreed that Mr. Edward Gray be considered as a student of law in Mr. Sullivan's office from July, 1782.

2. *Voted*, That John Brown Cotting be considered as entering on law study in Mr. Lowell's office from April term, 1783.

3. *Voted*, That Mr. Samuel Quincy, Jr., be considered as a law student in Mr. Gore's office from July term, 1783.

4. *Voted*, That Harrison Gray Otis be considered as a law student in Mr. Lowell's office from July term, 1783.

Voted, That there be a general bar meeting on the Saturday of the first week of the next sessions of the Supreme Court at Colonel Ingersoll's house.

That Mr. Tudor be requested to invite, in the name of the bar, the Justices of the Supreme Court to dine at Colonel Ingersoll's on the aforementioned Saturday at four o'clock P. M.

That Mr. Lowell and Colonel Hichborn be requested to direct Colonel Ingersoll to provide the dinner on said Saturday.

It was voted last February term that Mr. Tyler be recommended to the Supreme Court to be admitted as an attorney of the court, and he was accordingly recommended.

1783, August 4. At a meeting of the bar at the new Court-house, present, Mr. Kent, the Attorney-General, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Mason, Mr. Keith, Mr. Robbins.

On motion of Mr. Tudor, *Voted* unanimously, That he have the consent of the bar to take into his office Mr. John Rowe as a law student, to be considered as such from July term, 1783.

1783, August 30. Saturday. At a meeting of the bar at Colonel Ingersoll's, present, Mr. Kent, the Attorney-General, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton,

* Robert Treat Paine was attorney-general at this time. — Eds.

Mr. Wetmore, Mr. Mason, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Gore, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Tucker.

1. Ruled, that no bar meeting for the purpose of establishing rules to be binding on the gentlemen of the bar of the three counties of Suffolk, Middlesex, and Essex, shall be holden, excepting at some fixed term of the Supreme Judicial Court in one of said counties.

2. That no such bar meeting shall be constituted unless there be five gentlemen present, and that all the gentlemen attending at the court be duly notified.

3. That all the doings of such bar meetings shall be certified by the acting secretary of such meeting to the next bar meeting in the county of Suffolk.

4. Ruled, that the sum to be paid by a student at law to his instructor in either of said counties in future shall be one hundred pounds, lawful money, at least.

5. That no gentleman in future shall have in his office more than three students at the same time.*

6. On motion of Mr. Lowell, *Voted*, That Mr. Benjamin Lincoln be recommended to the Supreme Court to be admitted to the oath of an attorney of that court.

1783, October —. At a meeting of the following gentlemen, viz., Messrs. Kent, Hichborn, Tudor, Keith, Dawes, Gore, Hughes.

On motion of Mr. Hichborn, "that Mr. Richard Brook Roberts be admitted as a student in his office with a deduction of one year from the usual term required by the rules for such students previous to their recommendation for the oath," *Voted*, That Mr. Roberts be admitted accordingly with the proposed allowance, provided he produces a certificate from a gentleman of the profession in Carolina that he has read law under such gentleman's direction for one year at least.

1784, January 23. At a meeting of the following gentlemen, at the new Court-house, the Attorney-General, Messrs. Kent, Sullivan, Hichborn, Tudor, Morton, Keith, Mason, Robbins, Hughes.

Agreed, that Mr. Sullivan have the consent of the bar to take into his office as a student Mr. Samuel Cooper Johonnot, grandson of the late Dr. Cooper, aged sixteen.†

1784, February 19. At a meeting of the following gentlemen, at the new Court-house, Messrs. Lowell, Sullivan, Hichborn, Tudor, Morton, Lincoln.

On motion, *Voted, nem. con.*, That Mr. Thomas Edwards be recommended to the Supreme Judicial Court, as qualified for the oath of an attorney of that court.

* It has been said that the jealousy of the bar at the number of students seeking Theophilus Parsons was the cause of this rule. See "Memoir of Chief Justice Parsons," p. 180. In General Sumner's Life of his father, Governor Increase Sumner, it is stated ("N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register," 1854, p. 106 n.) that President John Adams declined to receive Mr. Sumner, who was admitted to the bar six months earlier than Parsons, into his office only because he had already the number of students allowed him by the bar rules. — Eds.

† Mr. Johonnot graduated from Harvard College the previous year. — Eds.

Voted, That Mr. John Thaxter, Mr. Fisher Ames, Mr. Rufus G. Amory, and Mr. George R. Minot be recommended to the same court to be sworn as attorneys.

1784, March 20. Saturday evening. At a meeting of the following gentlemen of the bar, at Mr. Ingersoll's, present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Dawes, Mr. Gore, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Robbins, Mr. Lincoln.

1. *Voted*, That we will now give an opinion whether the law passed during the present sessions of the General Court, granting to justices a power of trying causes to the value of four pounds, be contrary to the constitution or not.

Agreed unanimously, that said law, in our opinion, is contrary to the constitution. Also agreed, that each gentleman of the bar will use his utmost endeavor to obtain a determination of the Supreme Judicial Court whether the law be agreeable to the constitution or not.*

2. *Voted* unanimously, That no gentleman of the bar ought to go out of his office to put himself in the way of applications for drawing of writs, nor to employ any other persons to do business for him out of his office.

3. *Voted*, That there shall be a bar meeting at Ingersoll's every Tuesday evening in the week preceding that appointed for the session of the Supreme Judicial Court, for the purpose of arranging the jury actions at said court; and it is agreed, that every gentleman not then present shall hold himself bound by such arrangement.

4. *Voted*, That there shall be a general bar meeting at Colonel Ingersoll's on the evening of every last day of entry at each Court of Common Pleas for the County of Suffolk; and that each gentleman in the county, belonging to the profession, whether present or absent, shall pay his proportion of the evening's expense.

* The jurisdiction of justices of the peace in civil actions was increased from forty shillings to four pounds, by an act passed March 11 of this year. An explanatory act, "removing doubts which have arisen in the construction" of this act of 1784, was passed in June, 1797, and the limit stated as thirteen dollars and thirty-three and one third cents. By an act passed March 12, 1808, the justices' power was extended to twenty dollars, which is the limit by the present statutes.

The question of the constitutionality of the act of 1784 was raised during its discussion in the General Court. The Journal of the House shows that on February 13 that body voted (by 95 yeas of 121 members present) to accept the report of a committee that "consistent with the Constitution a justice of the peace may be empowered to try actions exceeding forty shillings." The blank in the pending bill was then filled by the insertion of *four pounds*, and the bill was passed to be engrossed. On February 25 Rufus King, a member for Newburyport, moved to have the question of the constitutionality of increasing the justices' power beyond forty shillings referred to the judges of the Supreme Court for their opinion, but his motion was negatived.

The objection to the act, both in the Legislature and in this bar association, was based probably upon a suspected abridgment of the right of trial by jury. As the justices' power was not again lessened by statute, it seems probable that the Supreme Judicial Court, if the question was ever brought before it, decided against the views of these members of the Suffolk Bar. — *Eds.*

1784, April 20. Tuesday evening. At a meeting of the bar at Ingersoll's, present, Mr. Kent, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Gore, Mr. Robbins, Mr. Fay, Mr. Lincoln.

1. *Voted*, That in future we take the same allowance for receiving and paying moneys belonging to our clients as adopted by the bar in 1771.

The following gentlemen were absent: Attorney-General, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Morton, Mr. Keith, Mr. Mason, Mr. Dawes, Mr. Hughes.*

2. That in all cases when a gentleman shall be proposed as a student who has not had a college education, he shall always undergo an examination by a committee appointed by the bar previous to his admission as a student.

1784, July 7 and 9. At a meeting of the bar at Ingersoll's and the new Court-house, present, at one or other of the meetings, or at both, the Attorney-General, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Gardiner,† Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Sprague, Mr. Keith, Mr. Mason, Mr. Bradish, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Dawes, Mr. Gore.

Voted unanimously, That Mr. Joseph Hall be recommended by the bar to the Court of Common Pleas this term for the oath of an attorney of that court.

Voted, on motion from Mr. Lowell, unanimously, That Mr. Edward Sohier be recommended by the bar to the Court of Common Pleas this term for the oath of an attorney of that court.

On motion of Mr. Gardiner, to have his son, John Gardiner, admitted into his office as a student of law; and on motion from Mr. Gore to have the liberty of taking into his office Mr. William Hill (a young gentleman from North Carolina), as a student of law, it appearing to the bar that neither of these young gentlemen had received a college education, *Voted* unanimously, That a committee be appointed to examine the said young gentlemen with respect to their literary qualifications, and to report their opinion thereon to the bar.

Voted, That the Attorney-General, Mr. Lowell, and Mr. Tudor constitute the said committee.

It was agreed by the gentlemen present that neither Mr. Hall nor Mr. Sohier be proposed to the court till some day after the third Tuesday of July instant.

* The names of Messrs. Amory, Ames, and Minot are also in this list of absentees, but a pen has been drawn through them. These gentlemen, perhaps, belonged to the bar of other counties than Suffolk, and their names are erased to show that no assessment was due from them for the supper suggested by the fourth vote of the previous meeting.—Eds.

† This was John Gardiner, who, born in Boston, was educated at the Inner Temple, London, and practised his profession in England. He was appointed attorney-general of the island of St. Christopher, and came to Boston after the peace of 1783. He afterward went to Pownalborough, and was sent to the Legislature, where he was known as the law reformer.—Eds.

1784, August 24. At a meeting of the bar at Colonel Ingersoll's, present, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Keith, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Gore.

The gentlemen present proceeded to class the actions for trial next week.

The committee reported that they had attended the examination of Messrs. Gardiner and Hill; upon which, *Voted*, That said report be considered at the adjournment.

Voted, That the bar meet at Mr. Lowell's office on Saturday morning next at 11 o'clock.

1784, August 28. At a meeting of the following gentlemen at Brother Lowell's office, present, Attorney-General, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Keith, Mr. Gore, Mr. Dawes, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Hughes.

The gentlemen (on motion from Mr. Tudor) *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Edward Walker (who was admitted to the oath of an attorney at the Inferior Court for Suffolk, at January Court, 1775) be recommended to the Supreme Judicial Court to be admitted to the oath of an attorney of that court.

The report of the committee on the examination of Messrs. Gardiner and Hill was considered; and it appearing to the gentlemen present that, although those gentlemen were well versed in the Latin and English classics, yet that a course of study in the mathematics, in ethics, logic, and metaphysics was necessary previous to their admission as students of law; therefore *Voted* unanimously, That such admission be suspended.

1784, October 12. At a meeting of the bar, at Mr. Marston's, being the quarterly meeting, present, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Dawes, Mr. Robbins, Mr. Ames, Mr. Tyler, Mr. Amory.

On motion of Mr. Hichborn, *Voted*, That Mr. Fortescue Vernon be considered as a law student in Brother Hichborn's office from Sept. 1, 1784.

N. B. This was a very social meeting, and several points of practice (not proper for matter of record) were liberally discussed and very amicably adjusted and agreed upon.

1785, January 11. At a meeting of the bar at Mr. Marston's, present, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Dawes, Mr. Gore, Mr. Keith, Mr. Robbins, Mr. Ames, Mr. Tyler, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Minot, Mr. Amory.

On motion of Mr. Dawes, *Voted*, That Mr. John Merrick be considered as a law student in his office from the first day of October last.

Voted, That a committee of three gentlemen be appointed to consider of proper measures to be adopted for remedying the inconveniences arising from the delinquency of sheriffs in the execution of their offices, and report. Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Robbins, and Mr. Amory were appointed on the said committee.

1785, July 12. At a meeting of the bar at Mr. Marston's, present, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Keith, Mr. Edwards,

Mr. Gore, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Robbins, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Ames, Mr. Amory.

Voted, That the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court be invited to dine with the gentlemen of the bar on the first Monday of the next term; and Brothers Gardiner and Hichborn are appointed a committee to invite the judges and prepare a suitable dinner.

Voted, That Mr. Hill be considered as a student in Mr. Gore's office from January last.

Voted, That Mr. John Gardiner be considered as a student in his father's office from January Court, 1785.

Voted, That Mr. Edward Gray be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court.

1786, July 12. At a meeting of the bar, the following gentlemen present, viz., John Lowell, James Sullivan, William Tudor, Perez Morton, William Wetmore, William Hunt, Israel Keith, Thomas Edwards, Thomas Dawes, Edward H. Robbins, Christopher Gore, Samuel Hughes, Benjamin Lincoln, Royal Tyler, Fisher Ames, George R. Minot, Rufus G. Amory.

Upon motion of Mr. Gore, *Voted*, That Mr. Samuel Quincy, having fully complied with the rules of the bar, be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas to-morrow for the oath of an attorney of that court.

On motion of Mr. Tudor, *Voted*, That Mr. John Rowe, Jr., having complied with the necessary requisites established by the bar, be recommended some day this term to the Court of Common Pleas as a qualified attorney of that court.

On motion of Mr. Lowell, *Voted*, That Mr. Harrison Gray Otis, having duly complied with the bar rules, be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas some day this term for the oath of an attorney of that court.

Voted, on motion of Mr. Lowell, that he have the consent of the bar to admit into his office, as law students, Mr. S. Borland, and his son, Mr. John Lowell, Jr.*

On motion of Mr. Sullivan, *Voted*, That he have the consent of the bar to admit into his office, as a law student, his son, Mr. James Sullivan, Jr.

1786, July 18. The following gentlemen present, Messrs. Lowell, Tudor, Keith, Edwards, Robbins, Lincoln, Amory.

Voted, on motion of Brother Lowell, That he have the consent of the bar to admit into his office, as a law student, Mr. Thomas Russell, Jr., son of Thomas Russell, Esq.

1787, July 12. At a bar meeting, present, the Attorney-General, Messrs. Lowell, Hichborn, Tudor, Mason, Edwards, Minot, Gore, Ames, Amory, Sohier, Gray.

On motion of Mr. Hichborn, *Voted*, That Mr. Fortescue Vernon be recommended for the oath of an attorney of the Court of Common

* Mr. Lowell became one of the prominent lawyers and citizens of Boston. A memoir of him, by his grandson, the present Judge Lowell, may be found in the Proceedings of this Society, vol. ii. pp. 160-169. — Eds.

Pleas, upon the last day of this term, Mr. Hichborn engaging that he shall continue in his office as a student of law until the first day of September, when his term of three years' study will be completed. There being no October court to sit is the reason of this vote.

On motion of Mr. Lowell, *Voted*, That Mr. Thomas Williams be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the attorney's oath.

1787, August 21. At a meeting of the gentlemen of the bar, *Voted*, That a dinner be given to the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court on the first Monday of their ensuing sessions, and that the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, the officiating clergymen, the sheriff, and both clerks be invited, together with such gentlemen belonging to the profession who are strangers in Boston.

Voted, That Mr. Mason and Mr. Dawes be a committee to procure a suitable dinner.

Voted, That Mr. Isaac Parker * be considered as a student in Mr. Tudor's office from the first day of August, 1786.

Voted, That Mr. Dawes have the consent of the bar to admit into his office Mr. William Cranch † as a law student.

The gentlemen present were, Messrs. Sullivan, Tudor, Mason, Edwards, Dawes, Gore, Amory, Lincoln, Hall, Minot.

1788, February 1. At a meeting of the gentlemen of the bar, present, Messrs. Lowell, Tudor, Morton, Wetmore, Amory, Hunt, Edwards, Dawes, Mason, Sohier, Hall.

On motion from Mr. Morton, that Mr. George Warren might be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court, it appearing that he had not received a collegiate education, and the certificates offered not being fully satisfactory, *Voted*, That Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Wetmore, and Mr. Amory be a committee to examine the young gentleman and make report as to his qualifications at the next meeting.

The committee reported accordingly at a meeting holden February 14; in consequence of whose opinion the bar present *Voted* unanimously, To recommend Mr. G. Warren to the Common Pleas for the attorney's oath.

1788, July 1. At a meeting of the bar at Mr. Tudor's office, present, Messrs. Tudor, Morton, Edwards, Dawes, Robbins, Hughes, Amory, Gray, Minot.

On motion of Brother Dawes, *Voted*, That Mr. John Merrick be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court, some day this term.

On motion of Brother Morton (in behalf of Mr. Hichborn, who is out of town), *Voted*, That Mr. Joseph Bartlet ‡ be recommended to

* Afterward Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth. — Eds.

† Afterward Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia. — Eds.

‡ An erratic fellow. See Duyckinck's "Cyclopædia of American Literature," vol. i. pp. 523-525. — Eds.

the Court of Common Pleas for the attorney's oath of that court some day of the present term.

1788, July 22. At a meeting of the bar at the Court-house, present, Messrs. Lowell, Sullivan, Hichborn, Tudor, Morton, Wetmore, Dawes, Hull, Robbins, Gore, Edwards, Hughes, Minot, Amory, Hall, Gray, Sohier.

On motion of Mr. Gore, *Voted*, That Mr. Thomas Crafts be recommended at the close of the present term to the Court of Common Pleas, for the oath of an attorney of that court, he having fully conformed to the rules of the bar respecting law students.

On motion of Mr. Hichborn, it was unanimously agreed that Mr. Samuel Andrews be considered as a student in his office from July, 1786.

On motion of Mr. Sullivan, agreed that Mr. William Lyman be considered as a student in his office from the tenth day of June last.

On motion of Mr. Wetmore, agreed that Mr. Nathaniel Higginson be considered as a student in his office from the death of our late Brother Lincoln, say from March 20 last.

On motion of Mr. Hichborn, it was agreed that Mr. Phineas Bruce be considered as a student in his office from October, 1787.

1788, August 26. At a meeting of the bar, at the Senate Chamber, present, Attorney-General, Messrs. Lowell, Hichborn, Tudor, Morton, Mason, Gore, Edwards, Dawes, Gray.

On motion of Mr. Tudor, *Voted* unanimously, That Messrs. Harrison G. Otis and John Rowe be recommended to the Supreme Judicial Court this term, to be admitted to the oath of attorneys of that court.

1788, September 6. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Lowell, Parsons, Wetmore, Mason, Edwards, Ames, Hall, Hughes.

On motion of Mr. Parsons, *Voted*, That he have the consent of the bar to take into his office Mr. Bossenger Foster, Jr., as a law student from this day.

1789, March 24. At a meeting of the bar, at the Court-house, present, Messrs. Lowell, Sullivan, Tudor, Morton, Mason, Hall, Gray.

On motion of Mr. Lowell, it was agreed that Mr. Edward Clarke be considered as a student in his office from Feb. 17, A.D. 1789.

1789, July 21. At a meeting of the bar, at the Court-house, present, Messrs. Lowell, Sullivan, Tudor, Morton, Edwards, Robbins, Hunt, Mason, Hughes, Gore, Dawes, Amory, Dexter, Sohier, Hall, Gray, Otis.

Voted, on motion of Mr. Lowell, That his son, Mr. John Lowell, Jr., be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas, the present term, for the oath of an attorney of that court.

Voted, on motion of Mr. Tudor, That Mr. Isaac Parker be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas, this term, for the oath of an attorney of that court.

Voted, That Mr. Lowell have the consent of the bar to take into his office Mr. John Lathrop as a law student.

Voted, on motion of Mr. Sullivan, That Mr. William Lyman be

considered as having complied with the rules of the bar as a law student for two years, completed the 10th of June last; and that, on condition he continues his studies for the space of one year longer according to the rules of the bar, and submits himself to an examination, that he shall then be recommended to the oath of an attorney in the Court of Common Pleas.

1789, July 22. At a meeting of the bar, at the Court-house, present, Messrs. Lowell, Sullivan, Hichborn, Tudor, Morton, Edwards, Gore, Hughes, Dawes, Amory, Dexter, Sohier, Otis.

On motion of Mr. Hichborn, *Voted*, That Mr. Samuel Andrews be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas, some day this term, for the oath of an attorney of that court.

On motion of Mr. Lowell, *Voted*, That Mr. Joseph Blake, on filing his certificates from Messrs. Sprague and Colville with the Secretary, be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the attorney's oath.

1789, August 21. At a meeting of the bar, present, Attorney-General, Messrs. Sullivan, Tudor, Mason.

On motion of Mr. Paine, *Voted*, That Mr. Robert Paine be considered as a student in his father's office from July 25 last.

DISTRICT COURT AT BOSTON, Dec. 1, 1789.

A Rule for the Admission of Counsellors and Attorneys at Law.

All such gentlemen who are now barristers or attorneys at the Supreme Judicial Court of the State of Massachusetts, taking the oath of allegiance to the United States, shall be admitted as counsellors and attorneys in this court, to take rank according to their standing in the Supreme Judicial Court aforesaid.

1790, February 6. At a meeting of the following gentlemen of the bar, viz., Messrs. Hichborn, Tudor, Morton, Dawes, Hughes, Tyler (of Uxbridge), Gray.

On motion of Mr. Hichborn, *Voted* unanimously, That Mr. Phineas Bruce, having studied regularly for nine months and upwards with an attorney previous to his admission into Brother Hichborn's office in October, 1787, be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court.

1790, July 8. At a meeting of the gentlemen of the bar, present, Messrs. Tudor, Edwards, Dawes, Mason, Hughes, Amory, Hall, Sohier.

On motion of Mr. West of New Hampshire, and from full evidence by certificates that Mr. Thomas Hammond had fully complied with the rules of the bar of that State, similar to those of the bar of Massachusetts, and had been duly admitted as an attorney of the Court of Common Pleas of that State, *Voted*, That he be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court.

Voted, on motion of Brother Dawes, That Mr. William Cranch,

having complied with the bar rules, be recommended, some day this term, to the oath of an attorney of the Court of Common Pleas.

1790, July 30. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Sullivan, Tudor, Robbins, Edwards, Hughes, Gray, Amory, Williams.

On motion of Mr. Tudor, *Voted*, That he have the consent of the bar to take into his office Mr. Josiah Quincy * as a law student.

On motion of Mr. Robbins, *Voted*, That he have the consent of the bar to take Mr. Nathaniel Fisher into his office as a law student.

1790, September 2. At a meeting of the gentlemen of the bar present, the Attorney-General,† Mr. Hichborn, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Morton, Mr. Dawes, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Robbins, Mr. Wetmore, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Amory, Mr. Gray, Mr. Sohler, Mr. Keith, Mr. Quincy, Mr. Williams, Mr. Otis.

On motion of the Attorney-General, consented, that he take into his office Mr. Robert Paine, son of Judge Paine, as a law student (*vide* Aug. 21, 1789).‡

On motion of Brother Gore, *Voted*, That Mr. John Lathrop be considered as a student in his office from the time he quitted Judge Lowell's office (*vide* July 21, 1789), and that Mr. Ebenezer Gay be considered as a student in Mr. Gore's office from April last, and Mr. John Callender from July last.

1790 [1], January 10. On motion of the Attorney-General, *Voted*, That he have the consent of the bar to take into his office, as a law student, Mr. James Prescott, Jr., of Groton, the young gentleman having had a college education, and it appearing by a certificate from Eb. Champney, Esq., of New Ipswich, that said Prescott had been a student in his office from July, 1788, to Nov. 23, 1790. Gentlemen present, Attorney-General, Messrs. Tudor, Edwards, Amory, Minot, Gray, Keith, Sohler, Bradish, Williams.

1791, April 28. At a bar meeting, present, Messrs. Ames, Dexter, Sohler, Otis, Townshend.

Voted, on motion of Mr. Ames, That he have the consent of the bar to consider Mr. Samuel Haven as a student in his office from October 23 last.

1791, July 5. At a meeting at Mr. Tudor's office, present, Messrs. Tudor, Morton, Hughes, Amory, Gray, Townshend.

On motion, *Voted*, That Mr. James Prescott, Jr., be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court some day of the present term.

1792, July 24. At a meeting of the bar, present, the Attorney-General, Messrs. Tudor, Edwards, Hall, Gray, Otis, Williams, Lowell, Adams.§

* Afterward the President of Harvard College, &c., &c. — Eds.

† James Sullivan was appointed attorney-general, February 12 of this year. — Eds.

‡ Robert Treat Paine, who had been the attorney-general since the organization of the State, was raised to a seat on the Supreme Bench this year. — Eds.

§ President John Quincy Adams had studied with Theophilus Parsons at Newburyport, and was admitted to the Essex Bar, July 16, 1790. He removed at once to Boston. He was appointed Minister to Holland, May 29, 1794. — Eds.

Voted, That Mr. George Blake be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court.

Voted, That Mr. Robert Paine be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court.

Voted, That William Sullivan * be admitted as a law student in the office of the Attorney-General.

1792, August 2. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Otis, Sohier, Gray, Blake, Lowell, Adams, Beales.

On motion of Mr. Otis, *Voted*, That Mr. John Williams be considered as a law student in his office from July term, 1792.

1793, July 9. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Tudor, Minot, Hall, Adams, Blake, Otis, Lowell, Gray.

Voted, That Mr. John Callender be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court.

Voted, on motion of Mr. Tudor, That Mr. Josiah Quincy be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court.

1793, July 10. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Tudor, Morton, Hall, Minot, Otis, Gray, Adams, Blake, Lowell.

After debate, under the special circumstances of the case, *Voted*, That Mr. Francis Blake be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas of *this* county for the oath of an attorney of that court, notwithstanding his having followed his law studies in the county of Worcester.

1793, July 10.† At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Tudor, Dexter, Hall, Gray, Williams, Edwards, Otis, Lowell, Beals, Amory, Adams.

Voted, That Mr. Tudor, Mr. Minot, and Mr. Lowell be a committee to revise all the existing bar rules, and to prepare and report a new set of general regulations, and to lay the same before the brotherhood on some day in the next term of the Supreme Judicial Court in this county for their consideration, and that they notify a special bar meeting for this purpose.

Voted, That Judge Minot, Mr. Amory, and Mr. Lowell be a committee to make inquiry, and to examine the qualifications of Mr. Joseph Rowe, and to report on the propriety of recommending that young gentleman to the Court of Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court.

1793, July 23. At a meeting of the bar, present, the Attorney-General, Messrs. Tudor, Amory, Judge Minot, Messrs. Otis, Adams, Blake.

Voted, That Mr. Joseph Rowe be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for the oath of an attorney of that court, in consequence of the following report of the committee appointed the 10th instant, viz.:—

* The well-known author of "Familiar Letters on the Men of the Revolution." A notice of him by Mr. T. C. Amory is in the Proceedings of this Society, vol. ii. pp. 160-160. — EDS.

† Sic in the manuscript, but evidently an error, unless two meetings were held on the same day. — EDS.



"The committee appointed for the examination of Mr. Joseph Rowe report that he received an academical education in the province of Canada; after which, at about seventeen years of age, he entered the office of the attorney-general for that province as a clerk and student of the law; that he diligently attended to the business of that office and a suitable course of study the term of two years; all which the committee conceive is equal to a collegiate education in this State. That he has resided more than three years in Boston as a clerk in the office of Mr. Tudor. The committee, having considered the qualifications of Mr. Rowe, are of opinion that he may be duly admitted to the bar."

1795, July 22. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Tudor, Edwards, Minot, Amory, Otis, Lowell, Gray, J. Blake, Williams, G. Blake, Paine.

On motion of Mr. Sullivan, *Voted*, That Mr. William Sullivan be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court.

On motion of Mr. Otis, *Voted*, That Mr. John Williams be also recommended to that court for the oath of an attorney.

A letter from Judge Lincoln, of Worcester, was read, requesting the bar to consent to the admission of Mr. James Allen, Jr., who had completed his law reading with him, to the oath of an attorney in this county. After much debate, it appearing that a derangement of the Court of Common Pleas in that county rendered it improbable that a court would be holden there until next winter, and from some particular circumstances attending the young gentleman, *Voted*, That he be recommended accordingly.

Also *Voted*, That in future no law student belonging to another county be proposed in this to the courts for admission as an attorney, without first producing the consent of the bar in the county where he studied, at a regular meeting certified by the clerk of such bar meeting.

1796, May 17. At a meeting of the following gentlemen of the bar at R. G. Amory, Esq.'s, office, present, Messrs. Minot, Amory, Gray, Lowell, Phillips, Paine, Gay, Rowe, Phelps, Sullivan.

Voted, That Mr. Ebenezer Gay be secretary to record the votes and transactions of the bar.

Voted also, That the following regulations be subscribed by each gentleman of the bar in the bar book, and that they be furnished with a copy thereof.

May 17, 1796.

We the subscribers, members of the bar for the county of Suffolk, taking into consideration the great depreciation of money, the abridgment of the number of days attendance formerly taxed in defaulted cases, according to the more ancient law, and the general inadequacy of the fees hitherto paid in many cases to the services performed in the line of our profession, agree to the following regulation of fees; viz.:—

At the COURT OF COMMON PLEAS where actions are not entered.

For every writ where the demand is under 100 dollars . . .	\$2.50
where the demand is above 100 dollars . . .	3.50
on the absconding act where the demand is	
under 100 dollars	3.00
where the demand is above 100 dollars . . .	4.00

Where actions are entered at said court and not argued, and judgment recovered the first term.

Fee for entry where the party does not enter, besides the clerk's fee and in addition to the bill of cost	\$1.00
Term fee where the demand is under 100 dollars	2.50
where the demand is above 100 and under 400 dollars	3.50
where the demand is above 400 dollars	5.00
In case there be not judgment the first term, then for every term afterward in cases under 100 dollars	1.00
above 100 dollars	2.00
Fee from the defendant for obtaining an appeal; in actions	
under 100 dollars	3.00
above 100 dollars	4.00
For every continuance; first term	3.00
every term after	2.00
For a demurrer; if the first term	3.00
any subsequent term	2.00
Fee for advice in all cases relating to property to an amount	
under 400 dollars, not less than	2.00
above 400 dollars, not less than	5.00

AT THE SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT.

Fee for entering an action where the party does not enter it .	\$1.00
In actions not argued and where judgment is recovered the first term, in addition to the bill of costs if	
under 100 dollars	3.00
above 100 dollars	5.00
For every term after, if under 100 dollars	2.00
above 100 dollars	3.00
In like actions not argued, from the defendant, every term,	
if under 100 dollars	3.00
if above 100 dollars	5.00

FOR ARGUING CAUSES TO THE COURT OR JURY.

At the Common Pleas, not less than	\$5.00
At the Supreme Judicial Court, not less than	15.00

FOR WRITING A LETTER REQUESTING PAYMENT OF A DEMAND.

under 100 dollars	\$1.50
above 100 dollars	2.00

Witness our hands is the above
a quorum —

J. Sullivan

Thomas Edwards
James G. Munot
Chas. P. Phelps
Wm. Sullivan
John Williams
John Charles Lane
William Thornton
Edw. Jackson
Ezek. Bacon
Saml. A. Dorr
John Heard
David Everett
William H. Miller
C. D. Sumner
James Allen

Edw. Gray

Wm. D. Pratt

John Williams Jun 3

John Williams Jun 3

John Williams Jun 3

John Williams Jun 3

John Williams Jun 3

John Williams Jun 3

John Williams Jun 3

SIGNATURES OF THE SUFFOLK BAR.

It is further agreed that none of the above rules shall apply to cases the value of which does not exceed thirty dollars. And it is further expected that the above rules will not prevent gentlemen from demanding more in cases deserving higher fees.

And it is further agreed that for collecting money for persons in this State, we shall receive not less than one per cent.

Witness our hands to the above agreement : —

Ja. Sullivan.
S. Bourne.
Thomas Edwards.
James Hughes.
Geo. R. Minot.
Edw^d S' Loe Livermore.
Rufus G. Amory.
Edw^d Gray.
Jno. Davis.
H. G. Otis.
Thomas Williams, Jun.
Jos. Blake, Jn^r.
Jn^o Lowell, Jun.
John Phillips.
Geo : Blake.
Rob^t Paine.
John Lathrop, J^r

Eben^r Gay.
Jn^o Callender.
Josiah Quincy.
Jos : Rowe.
Charles P. Phelps.
W^m Sullivan.
John Williams.
Charles Paine.
William Thurston.
Edw^d Jackson.
Ezek^l Bacon.
Sam^l A. Dorr.
John Heard.
David Everett.
H : N : Lisle.
C. P. Sumner.
James Allen, Jun^r *

1796, October 18. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Sullivan, Edwards, Amory, Gray, Lowell, Phillips, Lathrop, Gay, Quincy.

On motion of Mr. Attorney-General, to recommend Mr. Isaac Story to the Court of Common Pleas for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court, it appearing that Mr. Story had regularly studied the term of three years in the county of Essex, and that in consequence of the sickness at Newburyport the court would not convene there as usual, whereby the gentleman would be kept out of business a considerable time,† *Voted*, That the rule heretofore made on this subject be dispensed with, in this instance, in consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the case, and that Mr. Story be recommended accordingly.

1796, November 24. At a meeting of the bar, present, Attorney-General, Mr. Amory, Judge Minot, Messrs. Gray, Lowell, Phillips, Gay, Callender, Rowe, Quincy.

On motion of Mr. Lowell, to have the liberty of taking into his office Mr. John Ward Gurley as a law student, it appearing that the gentleman had not received a college education, *Voted* unanimously, That a

* An albertype of the page containing these signatures, somewhat reduced in size, is here given. — Eds.

† Newburyport was visited by an epidemic of yellow-fever at this time. See Coffin's "Newbury," p. 270. — Eds.

committee be appointed to examine the said young gentleman as to his literary qualifications, and report accordingly. Judge Minot, Mr. Otis, and Mr. Quincy were appointed a committee for the above purpose.

1797, May 10. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Bourne,* Gray, Williams, Lowell, Phillips, Lathrop, Paine, Rowe.

On motion of Mr. Lowell, *Voted*, That Mr. William Thurston be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court.

1797, October 9. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Edwards, Minot, Davis, Williams, J. Blake, Jr., G. Blake, Phillips, R. Paine, Callender, Gay, Rowe.

On motion of Judge Sullivan, *Voted*, That Mr. Samuel A. Dorr be considered a student in his office from July term, 1795; and Messrs. Charles Davis and Charles Cushing from July term, 1796.

And on motion of Brother Davis, *Voted*, That Mr. John Heard and Mr. Benjamin Wood be considered as students in his office from last July term.

On motion of Judge Minot, that Mr. Holder Slocum, Jr., be admitted as a student in his office, it appearing that he had not received a collegiate education, *Voted*, That Messrs. Edwards, Davis, and Gray be a committee to examine him as to his literary qualifications.

1798, January 12. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Edwards, Amory, Minot, Gray, Lowell, Phillips, Gay, Callender, Quincy, Rowe.

On motion of Mr. Edwards to recommend Mr. Ezekiel Bacon† to the Court of Common Pleas for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court, it appearing from sundry certificates that he had regularly studied the term of three years, *Voted* unanimously, To recommend him accordingly.

1798, May 11. At a meeting of the following gentlemen of the bar, Messrs. Gray, Lowell, Phillips, Paine, Gay, Rowe, Phelps.

On motion of Brother Livermore, *Voted*, That Mr. Nicholas Emery be considered a student in his office from April term, 1798.

1798, July 9. At a meeting of the following gentlemen of the bar, Messrs. Minot, Amory, Davis, Gray, T. Williams, Phillips, Rowe, Adams, Sullivan, Phelps.

The committee appointed at a bar meeting on the ninth day of October last, to examine Mr. Holder Slocum, Jr., a student in Judge Minot's office, as to his literary qualifications, reported as follows:—

“The committee of Suffolk Bar, appointed to examine and ascertain the literary acquirements of Mr. Holder Slocum, Jr., now a student with Judge Minot, have attended that service, and report that they find Mr. Slocum has so far attended to the Latin language that a moderate degree

* Shearjashub Bourne, the graduate of 1764; Chief Justice of the Suffolk Common Pleas, and a member of Congress. — Eds.

† Yale College, 1794. Afterward Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and a member of Congress. — Eds.

of attention and practice will probably enable him to render it sufficiently familiar for the purposes of his intended profession. He has paid no attention to the Greek, and has not been sufficiently instructed, in the opinion of your committee, in logic, metaphysics, and mathematics. He has read some approved writers in history, and has attended considerably to the French language.

"It is the opinion of the committee that on his remaining in an office three years from the present time, with an attention for part of the time, under the direction of his instructor, to history and metaphysics, and occasionally to the Latin language, it will be proper, at the expiration of that period, if he continues the assiduity and attention which he has hitherto manifested, to allow of his admission to the bar.

"JNO. DAVIS,

Per order."

"Boston, June 27, 1798.

On motion of Mr. William Sullivan, to recommend Mr. Samuel A. Dorr to the Court of Common Pleas for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court, *Voted*, To recommend him accordingly.

And on motion of Brother Davis, to recommend Mr. John Heard, Jr., to the Court of Common Pleas to the oath of an attorney of the said court, *Voted*, On his obtaining a certificate from the gentleman with whom he studied prior to his entering Mr. Davis's office, to recommend him accordingly.

After debate, the following exception to the rule respecting amendments adopted Jan. 2, 1771, was voted, viz.:—

That in all cases where the declaration in the writ is on an account annexed, on a policy of insurance, on a bill of exchange, or where the suit is brought for articles sold and delivered without an account annexed, the plaintiff's counsel shall be allowed to file a special declaration at any time before trial without paying costs or allowing a continuance, provided that if the amendments be made at the Supreme Judicial Court, the policy, bill, or copies, or full and sufficient abstracts thereof, and a schedule of the articles shall be filed at the Court of Common Pleas, unless such abstracts shall be contained in the declaration.

1798, July 23. At a meeting of the bar, present, Mr. Edwards, Judge Minot, Messrs. Gray, J. Blake, R. Paine, Rowe.

On motion of Judge Minot, *Voted*, That Mr. Charles Pinckney Sumner * be considered a student in his office from the present July term.

1798, August 10. At a meeting of the bar, present, Judge Minot, Messrs. Davis, Gray, Lowell, Phillips, Gay, Callender, Rowe.

The following report of a committee of the bar, consisting of Judge Minot, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Gray, on an application of Mr. Foster Waterman to be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas, to be sworn as an attorney of that court, was accepted, viz.:—

"That in their opinion Mr. Waterman's employment as a schoolmaster in Boston during the time he was a student under Mr. Forbes, and Mr.

* The father of Charles Sumner. — Eps.

Forbes's long absence in Europe, must have impeded his progress in acquiring a knowledge in the practical part of his profession at least: and that the whole of that time ought not to be allowed him. They therefore propose that he should be recommended to be sworn in at the next October term, upon his producing a certificate of his having studied under a gentleman practising at the Supreme Judicial Court from the 11th of April last until that time.

"GEO. R. MINOT,
"Per order."

1798, August 27. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Bourne, Edwards, Gray, Phillips, Sullivan, Gay.

On motion of Mr. William Sullivan, *Voted*, That Mr. Richard Sullivan be considered a student in his father's office from last July term.

Voted also, That Mr. Charles Paine be recommended to the Supreme Judicial Court for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court.

1798, November 1. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Minot, Lowell, Gay, Rowe, Sullivan.

Mr. Foster Waterman having produced certificates from Mr. Otis and Mr. Whitman that he had prosecuted the study of the law in their offices, from the eleventh day of April last past to the 1st of October last, *Voted*, To recommend him to the Court of Common Pleas for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court.

On motion of Mr. Lowell, *Voted* also, That Mr. [Humphrey] Devereux be considered a student in his office from the present term of the Common Pleas.

At the same meeting, upon the application of Judge Minot, in behalf of Mr. Artemas Sawyer, who received a degree at Harvard College the last Commencement, and has read law since in the office of Mr. Bartlett at Cambridge, that he might be admitted a student in his office in this town, and at the same time attend to the keeping of a school there upon such conditions as the bar might prescribe, *Voted*, That Mr. Davis and Mr. Amory be a committee to consider this application, and report.

1799, July 5. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Gray, Phillips, Blake, Gay, Sullivan, Adams, Paine.

On motion of Mr. Sullivan, *Voted*, That Messrs. Charles Davis and Charles Cushing be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court.

On motion of Mr. Paine, *Voted*, That Mr. Thomas Paine and Mr. Thomas O. Selfridge be considered students in his office from the first day of April last.

On motion of Mr. Gay, *Voted* also, That Mr. Artemas Sawyer be considered a student in his office from the tenth day of last May.

1799, August 7. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Amory, Lowell, Phillips, Gay, Callender, Sullivan, Quincy, Paine.

Voted, That Mr. Jotham Bender be recommended for admission as an attorney of the Court of Common Pleas, it appearing to the satis-

faction of the bar that he has complied with the rules prescribed as a qualification for admission.

1799, October 11. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Davis, T. Williams, J. Lowell, Jr., J. Phillips, J. Quincy, J. Rowe, C. Paine.

On motion of Mr. Lowell, to have Mr. John W. Gurley, a student in his office, proposed to the Court of Common Pleas for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court, it appearing to the satisfaction of the bar that Mr. Gurley had commenced and prosecuted the study of the law with Mr. Porter of Hadley from the beginning of January, 1796, until the 1st of September in the same year, and that he had also prosecuted his studies in Mr. Lowell's office for the term of two years and eleven months, *Voted*, To propose him accordingly.

Voted also, That Mr. William Hyslop Sumner* be considered a student in Mr. Davis's office from July last; and Mr. Luther Richardson in Mr. Thomas Williams's office from the same time.

1800, January 17. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Bourne, Davis, Gray, Phillips, Gay, Sullivan, Paine.

On the application of Mr. Samuel Hawkins for admission to the bar of this county, *Voted*, That Mr. Amory, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Gray be a committee to obtain a correct statement of facts respecting the said Hawkins, to report the same at the next meeting.

1800, January 20. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Edwards, Amory, Davis, Gray, Phillips, G. Blake, J. Rowe, W. Sullivan.

The committee appointed to obtain and report a state of facts in the case of Mr. S. Hawkins reported as follows, viz. : —

"The committee of Suffolk Bar, appointed on the application of Mr. Samuel Hawkins for admission to the bar in this county, report, — that in September last the said Hawkins was admitted as an attorney and counsellor at law at the Court of Common Pleas in the county of Litchfield, in Connecticut, and in October last he was admitted an attorney and counsellor at the Court of Common Pleas in the county of Dutchess, in the State of New York, which admissions appear to be duly certified. He also produces certificates of having studied one year with Tappan Reeve, Esq., in Connecticut, and two years with Jno. —, Esq., of Troy, in the State of New York. He also states that he studied one year with Mr. Ogden, of which he has no certificate with him. He had not a college education, but studied with a private tutor previous to his living with Mr. Ogden. Mr. Hawkins is a native of the State of New York. The committee are of opinion, under the circumstances above stated [that he] is not now admissible to the bar of this county.

"R. G. AMORY.

"JN^o DAVIS.

"EDW^d GRAY.

"BOSTON, Jan. 18, 1800."

Voted, That the above report be accepted.

On motion of Mr. Amory, *Voted*, That Mr. [Henry] Cabot be con-

* The son of Governor Increase Sumner. — EDS.

sidered a student in his office for the term of five years from the 1st of July last.

On motion of Mr. George Blake, *Voted*, That Mr. Nathaniel Sparhawk, who has had an education at Dartmouth College, be considered a student in his office from October, 1798.

Voted, That we have a supper at James Vila's,* and that all the gentlemen of the bar practising at the Supreme Judicial Court be invited to attend, and that Mr. Amory, Mr. Davis, Mr. Gray, and Mr. Gay be a committee to report amendments and additions to the rules respecting practice and admissions.

1800, January 28. At a meeting of the bar at James Vila's (Concert Hall), present, Judge Sullivan, Messrs. Edwards, Amory, J. Davis, Gray, Lowell, Phillips, G. Blake, Gay, Quincy, Rowe, Sullivan, Paine.

Voted, That all students of colleges out of the State be not admissible to the bar until they shall have studied one year longer than those educated at Harvard University.

That no student be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for admission without having studied within the county one year at least of his term.

That with respect to those gentlemen who have studied law or been admitted to the bar in the courts of other States, and who shall apply for admission to the bar of this county, they shall not be recommended without a term of study within this county, to be prescribed by the bar, provided that term be in no case less than one year. This regulation not to apply to those gentlemen who have practised in the supreme court of any State four years, and against whom, upon examination, there shall be found no objection in point of qualification or character.

That no student be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas or Supreme Judicial Court for admission without subscribing and conforming to the rules of the bar.

Voted also, That in lieu of the entry and term-fees, we will receive, in cases that shall be entered where there are no trials, and whether the cause shall proceed to judgment or not, five per cent on the first hundred dollars, and one per cent less than five per cent on every hundred dollars to five hundred dollars, and one per cent on every sum exceeding five hundred dollars; provided that when the debt shall be lost by the poverty of the debtor the counsel shall be at liberty to deviate from this rule at his discretion.

Voted also, That there be a standing committee of the bar to be chosen in January, annually, of not less than three, whose duty it shall be to see that the bar rules are adhered to.

1800, July 5. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Edwards, Gray, T. Williams, Lowell, Phillips, Blake, Gay, Rowe.

Voted, That Mr. Lowell have the consent of the bar to take into

* Concert Hall, a well-known tavern at the corner of Hanover and Court Streets. — Eds.

his office as students at law Mr. Charles Lowell * and Mr. [Aaron H.] Putnam.

1801, April 30. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Gray, Lowell, Phillips, Gay, Rowe, Sullivan, Paine.

On motion of Mr. Gray, *Voted*, That Mr. Holder Slocum, Jr., be proposed to the Court of Common Pleas for admission the next term.

On motion of Mr. Paine, *Voted*, That Mr. Luther Richardson be considered a student in his office from the 7th of the present month.

On motion of Mr. William Sullivan, *Voted*, That Mr. Richard Sullivan be proposed to the Court of Common Pleas the present term for admission at the next; [and] that Mr. Henry Edes be considered a student in the office of James Sullivan, Esq., from July, 1799, and Gideon L. Thayer from the — day of —.

That David I. Greene and Mr. — Skinner be considered students in said William Sullivan's office; the former from July, 1800, and the latter from the — day of February, 1800.

1801, July 21. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Edwards, Gray, Lowell, G. Blake, Phillips, Rowe, Quincy, Paine, Thurston, Heard, Jackson.

Voted, on motion of Mr. Lowell, That Mr. Humphrey Devereux be recommended, at the next October term of the Court of Common Pleas, for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court the succeeding January term.

Voted also, That Mr. George Sullivan be considered a student in the office of James Sullivan, Esq., and Warren Dutton in the office of John Lowell, Jr., Esq., from the present time.

1801, July 25. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Edwards, Amory, Gray, Lowell, Thos. Williams, Phillips, Blake, Gay, Rowe, Jno. Williams, Heard.

On motion of Mr. Blake, *Voted*, That Mr. Nathaniel Sparhawk be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for this county for admission at the next October term.

On motion of Mr. Amory, *Voted*, That Mr. Henry Cabot, who for these two years last past has, connectedly with his legal studies, pursued those of general literature, be considered a student in his office from the first day of July instant until the first day of July, 1804; and that Mr. Samuel Parker, who has for the last year pursued the study of law in the office of Mr. — Smith, of —, be also considered a student in the office of Mr. Amory, and that three months be deducted from the time he studied with Mr. Smith, he having kept school during that time.

1801, October 6. †

1801, October 13. At a meeting of the bar in the Court-house, present, Messrs. Edwards, Gray, Lowell, Churchill, Gay, Paine, Everett. ‡

* Afterward the Rev. Dr. Lowell, pastor of the West Church. — Eds.

† Nothing but the date is entered. — Eds.

‡ David Everett, the author of the well-known lines, —

"You 'd scarce expect one of my age
To speak in public on the stage."

On motion of Mr. Lowell, *Voted*, That Alpheus Baker be considered a student in his office from the first day of the present month.

On motion of Mr. Gray, *Voted*, That Samuel Mather Crocker be considered a student in his office from July last.

And on motion of Mr. Everett, *Voted*, That Lemuel Shaw * be considered a student in his office from August last.

1801, October 19. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Gray, Davis, Otis, Phillips, Blake, Gay, Callender, Sullivan, Paine, Waterman, Everett.

On motion of Mr. Gay, *Voted*, That Mr. Artemas Sawyer be proposed to the Court of Common Pleas of this county for admission at the next January term, Judge Davis, one of the committee appointed to consider his case, having so reported.

On motion of Mr. C. Paine, *Voted* also, That his brother, Mr. Thomas Paine, be proposed for admission at the same term.

On motion of Mr. Davis, *Voted*, That Mr. John Knapp be considered a student in his office from July, 1800, and Mr. Thomas Welsh, from

And on motion of Mr. Otis, *Voted*, That Messrs. Arthur M. Walter, Benjamin Wells, and William W. [S?] Shaw † be considered students in his office from the 20th of March last.

1802, July 13. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. T. Williams, Lowell, Gay, Quincy, C. Paine, Heard, Thurston, Everett.

On motion of Mr. Otis, *Voted*, That Arthur M. Walter be proposed to the Court of Common Pleas at this term for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court at the next October term.

On motion of Mr. Lowell, *Voted*, That he have leave to take into his office Messrs. John Codman, Jr., and James Elliott, as students at law.

On motion of Mr. Charles Paine, *Voted*, That Timothy Fuller be considered as student in his office from the present time.

And on motion of E. Gay, *Voted*, That Timothy Boutelle be considered a student in his office from the month of June last.

1802, October 29. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Gray, Lowell, Adams, Blake, Gay, Rowe, Heard, Thurston, Everett.

On motion of Mr. Heard, *Voted*, That Mr. David Bradley be considered a student in his office from April last.

On motion of Mr. Lowell, that a committee be appointed to determine what further time Mr. Warren Dutton, a student in his office, shall prosecute the study of law to entitle him to a recommendation to the Court of Common Pleas for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court, *Voted*, That Messrs. Gray, Adams, and Quincy be a committee for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. Everett, to have liberty to take into his office Mr.

He was more of a journalist and writer than a lawyer. See Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia*, vol. i. pp. 589, 590. — Eds.

* Afterward Chief Justice of the Commonwealth. — Eds.

† All three members of the Anthology Club, and two, Walter and Shaw, founders of the Boston Athenæum. — Eds.

Aaron Emmes as a student, *Voted*, That the above-named committee be a committee to determine on what terms said Emmes shall enter said office, he not having received a liberal education.

1803, April 26. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Gray, Ward, Lowell, Phillips, Quincy, Rowe, Sullivan, Heard, Gurley.

The committee on Mr. Warren Dutton's case reported that he be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for admission in July next, which was accepted.

On motion of Mr. Lowell, *Voted*, That Aaron H. Putnam be recommended for admission at next July term.

On motion of Mr. Phillips, *Voted*, That Israel Munroe* be proposed for admission at the same term.

On motion of Mr. Otis the same vote was executed in favor of Benjamin Wells.

On motion of Mr. Parsons, a similar vote was executed in favor of Benjamin Marston Watson.

On motion of Mr. William Sullivan, *Voted*, That James T. Austin be considered a student in his office from ——— last.

1803, April 29. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Davis, Amory, Otis, Adams, Blake, Gay, Rowe, Wm. Sullivan, Heard, Thurston.

On motion of Mr. Otis, *Voted*, That Mr. Josiah [John?] Knapp be proposed for admission to the Court of Common Pleas next July term.

A similar vote was executed on motion of Mr. G. Blake in favor of Adam Winthrop.

1803, Friday, December 9. At a meeting of the bar in the Court-house lobby, present, Mr. Parsons, the Solicitor-General,† Messrs. Amory, Hall, Gray, Rowe, Sullivan, Heard, Jackson.

Mr. Parsons requested permission of the bar to take into his office Mr. Elliot as a law student during the absence of Mr. Lowell, with whom he had heretofore studied, Mr. Parsons having already three students in his office.

On motion of Mr. Amory, *Voted*, That Mr. Parsons have permission to receive Mr. Elliot into his office to prosecute his studies there during the absence of Mr. Lowell.

Voted also, That Mr. William Minot be considered a student in Mr. Hall's office from June, 1802.

1804, January 9. At a meeting of the bar in the lobby of the Court-house, present, Messrs. G. Blake, J. Rowe, C. Paine, W. Thurston, E. Jackson, C. Davis, R. T. Paine, Jr.

Mr. C. Paine requested the gentlemen of the bar to determine what further time should be required of T. Fuller, Jr., a student in his office, to prosecute his studies previous to admission to the Court of Common Pleas, he having kept school while a student with Judge Lincoln at Worcester. *Voted*, That Messrs. Blake, Rowe, and E.

* This name was written Munson, and has been corrected with a lead-pencil. — Eds.

† Daniel Davis was appointed solicitor-general, Jan. 29, 1801. — Eds.

Jackson be a committee to consider of this application and report thereon.

The committee to whom the case of T. Fuller, Jr., was referred reported that said Fuller be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas in July next for admission the succeeding October term.

At a meeting of the gentlemen of the bar, holden at the Court-house on the 20th of July, 1804, the above report, which was made at the last January term, was taken into full and mature consideration, and the same was accepted.

CHAS. DAVIS, Clerk *pro tem*.

1804, April 25. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Hall, Gray, Churchill, Gay, Rowe, C. Paine, Thurston, W. Sullivan, Heard, Stackpole, A. Dexter, Knapp, Thatcher, Selfridge, Munroe, Winthrop, Dutton, Parker,

Voted, on motion, That a committee of five be appointed to review the regulations respecting practice, and make such alterations therein and additions thereto as they shall judge necessary.

Voted also, That Messrs. Gray, Phillips, Wm. Sullivan, C. Paine, and Selfridge be a committee for the above purposes, and that when they shall be ready to make their report that they call a meeting of the whole bar at Vila's to receive the same.

1804, May 2. At a meeting of the bar, present, Messrs. Edwards, Gray, Gay, Callender, C. Paine, Jackson.

On motion of Brother Callender, *Voted*, To recommend Mr. Thomas Welsh, Jr., to the Court of Common Pleas for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court at the next July term.

Mr. George Sullivan was also recommended for admission at the same term.

1805, March 18. At a meeting of the bar, present, D. Davis, E. Gray, B. Whitman, W. Sullivan, C. Jackson, C. Paine, C. Davis, E. Jackson, Wm. Thurston, L. Richardson, Esqs.

Upon the representation of Luther Richardson, Esq., stating that a dispute had arisen between him and William Austin, in which the latter had charged him with dishonorable conduct in his profession, and praying that the bar would take the same into consideration, *Voted*, That a committee of three be appointed for that purpose and report thereon as soon as convenient, and that the Hon. C. Gore, Hon. D. Davis, and William Sullivan, Esq., be that committee.

1805, Tuesday, March 26. At a meeting of the gentlemen of the bar at Vila's, present, Messrs. Edwards, Amory, D. Davis, Gray, B. Whitman, Jno. Phillips, G. Blake, Quincy, Wm. Sullivan, C. Jackson, C. Paine, Churchill, Heard, Thurston, Selfridge, C. P. Sumner, C. Davis, Thacher, E. Jackson, Wm. H. Sumner, Allen.

Mr. Amory presented an application from Mr. Robert Fields, requesting that he might be recommended to the Court of Common Pleas for admission to the oath of an attorney of that court. It was voted that this subject subside until after the report of the committee

appointed to revise the rules and regulations of the bar should be disposed of. The said report was then read, and each article was considered and adopted separately as far as the fifth. It was then moved to accept the whole report, which motion was carried. The said report is accepted accordingly, and recorded in Bar Book No. 2.

It was afterward voted that a committee of five be chosen to consider the application of Mr. Fields and report thereon. The Solicitor-General, Messrs. Amory, Phillips, Blake, and C. Davis were chosen for that purpose.

Mr. J. P. QUINCY presented an interesting letter of Mrs. George Whitefield, with the following remarks:—

I have here a letter written by Mrs. Whitefield, the wife of the evangelist, and addressed to Dr. Colman, the well-known pastor of Brattle Street Church. It would have no interest—beyond that which attaches to an expression of intense womanly sympathy with a remarkable husband—were it not that it furnishes some evidence against the truth of a statement which has crept into the biographies of Whitefield, and which alleges a want of harmony between the great preacher and his wife. This story has been circulated upon the inadequate authority of one man (Cornelius Winter), who entered Whitefield's house as a resident more than a year after the death of his wife. It is saying very little, to mention that we have nothing to confirm this report of matrimonial infelicity; every document bearing ever so remotely upon the subject goes to refute it, as decidedly as this letter to Dr. Colman.

Mr. Tyerman's exhaustive biography of Whitefield gives three letters from his wife. The expression, "my dear and honored master," by which, in this letter to the Boston pastor, Mrs. Whitefield designates her husband, is repeated in one of them; and the tone of the others is equally indicative of her utter absorption in the high calling to which he was devoted.

It has been observed that Mrs. Whitefield is rarely mentioned in the voluminous correspondence of her husband; but the omission is not strange, when we remember how completely the emotional force of the preacher was spent in his exacting work. It is more to the purpose that Whitefield's few allusions to his wife are tender and appreciative. He speaks of his family as "happy in Jesus, and happy in one another." Mrs. Whitefield is his "dear yoke fellow"; and he notes how, in time of peril, "the Lord gave her much of his presence." In the opinion of John Wesley, the wife of his brother evangelist was "a woman of candor and human-

ity"; and there is unimpeachable testimony to show that in some fine traits of character she excelled her husband. It is from the latter's own statement we know that, when a bloody sea fight was supposed to be imminent, the wife was zealous to do her full part, and set about making cartridges; while Whitefield found his own courage so deficient that it was with difficulty he resisted an impulse to secrete himself from danger in the ship's hold. On another occasion, when the fervent orator was called upon to face a mob, he tells us how he began to quail before its ferocious menaces. "My wife," he adds, "was then standing behind me as I stood on the table. I think I hear her now. She pulled my gown, and, looking up, said, 'George, play the man for your God!' I spoke to the multitude with boldness and affection." Surely it is reasonable to believe that on less critical occasions such a wife was the support of her husband, and supplied a due portion of the Christian energy by which the pathetic preacher wrought his marvellous effects. Six months after Mrs. Whitefield's death, her husband writes to his old friend, Thomas Adams, that his loss is as that of his right hand; and he goes on to intimate that his bereavement is supportable only through faith that "right hands and right eyes must be parted with for Him who ordereth all things well." It is, then, as an additional vindication of the memory of Mrs. Whitefield that I find the chief interest of the letter now communicated. In this view it seems well worth the preposterous postage of six shillings and nine pence, which the indorsement of Dr. Colman states that he paid for it.

BOHEMIA, IN MARYLAND, June 16, 1746.

REV. AND VERY DEAR SIR, — I have been ready to think the time long till I should see our dear Boston friends, but it seems I must wait yet longer. The time is not yet come for a return thither, and I cannot look far forward, for in the midst of life we are in death, and know not how soon that messenger might be sent to call us hence. But, blessed be his great name, there is a time when the dear children shall meet not to part any more. If we meet not here, we must patiently wait that time. The Lord is exceeding good to my dear and honored Master, and still continues to honor him in making him the happy instrument of bringing dear souls to the dear Redeemer. There seems to be a thirst for the word from Georgia to New England, but more abundantly in these six provinces. I know it will rejoice your dear heart to hear that our glorious high priest rides triumphantly in the chariot of his everlasting Gospel. Indeed, I believe the Lord is going to do a great work upon the earth. Dear Mr. Tennent is getting alive again, and expresses great love to my dear Master, and

says he loves him better than ever. There is in Pennsylvania and this province a sweet moving among the dry bones, and thousands come to hear. The ministers are very loving and kind. My dear and honored Master joins with me in sending loving respects to yourself and lady. He would have wrote, but weakness of body and much company prevented him. The heat of the weather is almost too much for us, and preaching out in the heat almost overcomes him, but there are no houses to contain the people. O dear sir, pray for us! We design for Bethesda* again in winter. If you would favor my dear Mr. Whitefield or me with a few lines, be pleased to direct to be left at Mr. William Bronson's, merchant, in Philadelphia. I am, dear and reverend sir,

Sincerely yours in our dear Lord,

E. WHITEFIELD.

Our love to all dear friends, Mr. Stamford and his lady, and your little dear master, and Mr. Smith, if you see him.

[Addressed:] To the Rev. Dr. Colman, in Boston.

[Indorsed in Dr. Colman's hand:] Paid postage 6: 9^d From Mrs. Whitefield at Maryland, rec'd July 1, 1746; answ'd July 8.†

* The name given to the Orphan House which Whitefield had built near Savannah. — Eds.

† There are also upon the outside of the letter: "6/9. Phi. 7^dwt;" and the following note, signed T. T. (Thomas Turell, Dr. Colman's son-in-law): "Philadelphia, 7 pennyweights; this appears to be Dr. Franklin's handwriting." — Eds.

BY-LAWS.

CHAPTER I.

OF MEMBERS.

ARTICLE 1.—The Regular or Resident Members of the Society shall be elected from among the citizens of this Commonwealth, and shall cease to be members whenever they cease to be citizens thereof. Honorary and Corresponding Members shall be elected from among those persons who are not citizens of this Commonwealth, and the latter shall cease to be members if at any time they become citizens thereof. Resident Members only shall be entitled to vote or to take part in the business transacted at the meetings of the Society.

ART. 2.—A book shall be kept by the Recording Secretary, in which any Resident Member of the Society may enter the name of any person whom he may regard as suitable to be nominated as a Resident, Corresponding, or Honorary Member; it being understood that each member is bound in honor not to make known abroad the name of any person either proposed or nominated. But no nomination of any member shall be made except by a report of the Council, at a stated meeting of the Society, nor be acted upon at the same meeting to which it is reported; nor shall more than two candidates for membership, of the same class, be reported at any one meeting.

ART. 3.—Nominations of Corresponding or of Honorary Members shall be accompanied by a brief statement of the place of residence and qualifications of the person nominated.

ART. 4.—All members shall be elected by ballot; and, in balloting for members, the law and custom of our forefathers shall be observed, by taking the question with Indian corn and beans; the corn expressing *yeas*, and the beans *nays*. But no person shall be deemed chosen, unless there be twenty members present and voting at the election, nor unless three-fourths of all the votes are in the affirmative.

ART. 5. — Each Resident Member shall pay twenty-five dollars at the time of his admission, and ten dollars each first of January afterward, into the treasury of the Society, for its general purposes; but any member shall be exempted from the annual payment, if, at any time after his admission, he shall pay into the treasury one hundred and fifty dollars in addition to what he may before have paid; and all commutation fees shall be funded by the Treasurer, and the interest only used for the current expenses of the Society. Each Resident Member shall be entitled to receive a copy of all the regular publications of the Society, issued after his election, without charge; and all members who have paid the commutation fee shall be entitled to the privilege of the Library, and to copies of the publications, for life, even should their membership cease by removal from the State or by resignation.

ART. 6. — If any person elected as a Resident Member shall neglect, for one year after being notified of his election, to pay his admission-fee, his election shall be void; and, if any Resident Member shall neglect to pay his annual assessment for two years after it shall have become due and his attention shall have been called to this article in the By-laws, he shall cease to be a member; provided, however, it shall be in the power of the Treasurer, with the consent of the President, to dispense (*sub silentio*) with the payment of the assessment, whenever, in any special instance, they may think it advisable to do so. Each person who shall be elected a Resident Member shall, when notified of it, be furnished by the Corresponding Secretary with a copy of this Article and the preceding one.

ART. 7. — Diplomas signed by the President, and countersigned by the two Secretaries, shall be issued to all persons who have become members of the Society.

CHAPTER II.

OF MEETINGS.

ART. 1. — There shall be a Regular Meeting of the Society on the second Thursday of every month, at three o'clock P.M., at their rooms in Boston; provided, however, that the Coun-

cil shall have authority to postpone any such monthly meeting, or to dispense with it altogether, or to direct it to be held at other rooms, or at another hour, whenever, for any cause, they may deem it desirable or expedient. Special meetings shall be called by either of the Secretaries, whenever requested so to do by the President, or, in case of his absence or inability, by one of the Vice-Presidents or by the Council.

ART. 2.— At all meetings, the President shall take the chair in five minutes after the time appointed in the notification; and the record of the preceding meeting shall then be at once read. After which, at all Special Meetings, the special business for which the meeting was called shall be transacted; and, at all Regular Meetings, the order of business shall be as follows:—

First, The Librarian shall make his report.

Second, The Cabinet-keeper shall make his report.

Third, The Corresponding Secretary shall read any communications he may have received.

Fourth, The unfinished business and the assignments of the last meeting shall be taken up in their order.

Fifth, The Council shall be called on to report its doings since the last meeting.

Sixth, Other committees shall be called on for reports.

Seventh, The Society shall then proceed to such matters of business as may be proposed by any member; after which members generally shall be invited to make any communications on any subject having relation to the purposes of the Society; and, for the orderly accomplishment of this object, the Society shall be divided into three sections, as nearly equal in numbers as may be, each of which, in regular sequence, shall be notified by the Recording Secretary, that the Society, at the next meeting, will receive from it such communications; and the officer presiding at the next meeting shall call upon members of such section to offer any communication; after which, the communication so made may be discussed by the Society generally.

ART. 3.— Fifteen members shall be a quorum for all purposes except the election of members, as hereinbefore provided; and excepting, also, for alterations of the By-laws, which shall not be made unless twenty persons are present, nor unless the subject has either been discussed at a previous meeting, or reported on by a committee appointed for the purpose.

ART. 4.— At the request of any two members present, any

subject proposed for discussion shall be once deferred to a subsequent meeting, before it is finally disposed of.

ART. 5. — All committees shall be nominated by the chair, unless otherwise ordered.

CHAPTER III.

OF OFFICERS.

The officers of the Society shall be a President, who shall be, *ex officio*, Chairman of the Council; two Vice-Presidents; a Recording Secretary, who shall also be, *ex officio*, Secretary of the Council; a Corresponding Secretary; a Treasurer; a Librarian; and a Cabinet-keeper, — all of whom shall be chosen by ballot at the monthly meeting in April, and shall hold their respective offices for one year, or until others are duly chosen in their stead. At the same meeting five members shall be chosen (no more than two of whom shall hold their places for more than two successive years) who, with the foregoing officers, shall constitute the Council of the Society; which may fix its own quorum, provided that no nomination of members shall be made to which less than seven of its number shall have assented at a meeting of the Council.

At the regular monthly meeting preceding any election of officers, a Nominating Committee, consisting of three persons, shall be appointed, who shall report to the meeting at which the election is to be made a list of members for the places to be filled.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside in all meetings of the Society when present, and, when absent, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the order of their names. In the absence of all these officers, a President *pro tempore* shall be chosen.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

ART. 1. — The Recording Secretary, or, in case of his death or absence, the Corresponding Secretary, shall warn all meetings of the Society, by causing to be sent, through the post-office, to all the Resident Members, notices of each meeting. Notices of the regular meetings shall be issued on the Monday preceding.

ART. 2. — He shall keep an exact record of all the meetings of the Society, with the names of the members present; entering in full all reports of committees that may be accepted by the Society, unless otherwise specially directed, or unless the same are to be included in the printed Proceedings.

See Chap. IX., Art. 6.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ART. 1. — The Corresponding Secretary shall inform all persons of their election as members of the Society, sending to each a copy of the By-laws, and on their acceptance shall issue the proper diplomas.

ART. 2. — He shall carry on all the correspondence of the Society not otherwise provided for; and deposit copies of the letters sent and the original letters received, in regular files, in the Library.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE TREASURER.

ART. 1. — The Treasurer shall collect all moneys due to the Society, and shall keep regular and faithful accounts of all the moneys and funds of the Society that may come into his hands, and of all receipts and expenditures connected with the same, — which accounts shall always be open to the

inspection of the members ; and, at the regular meeting in April, he shall make a written report of all his doings for the year preceding, and of the amount and condition of all the property of the Society intrusted to him. One week before the monthly meeting in April of each year, he shall give notice to every member of any assessment remaining due from him.

ART. 2. — He shall pay no moneys, except on vote of the Society, or of the Council, or on voucher of an officer or committee acting conformably to its laws or orders.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS.

At the monthly meeting in March, annually, a Committee shall be appointed by nomination from the chair, consisting of not less than two persons, whose duty it shall be to examine the Treasurer's accounts for the year preceding, and at the monthly meeting in April to report thereon, and on the state of any property of the Society in his hands.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE LIBRARIAN, AND OF THE LIBRARY.

ART. 1. — The Librarian shall have charge of all the books, tracts, maps, manuscripts, and other property of the Society appropriate to a library ; and shall cause to be made, and kept exact and perfect, catalogues of each and all of them, doing whatever may be in his power, at all times, to preserve and increase the collections under his care.

ART. 2. — He shall acknowledge each donation that may be made to the Library, by a certificate addressed to the person making it.

ART. 3. — He shall, at every monthly meeting of the Society, report all donations made to the Library since the last monthly meeting, with the names of the donors ; and, at the annual meeting, shall present a statement of the condition and wants of the Library, with a notice of the important accessions that may have been made to it during the year.

ART. 4. — He shall cause to be kept an exact account of all books taken out, with the names of the persons who take them, and the dates when they are borrowed and returned.

ART. 5. — He shall report in writing, at each monthly meeting, the name of every book that has been out of the Library for a longer term than is permitted by the By-laws, and shall use his discretion in obtaining the return of such books.

ART. 6. — He may have one or more assistants, not members of the Society, appointed by the Council, who shall aid him in all or any of his duties; who shall also aid the Recording Secretary in notifying meetings, copying reports, or in any other way that may be required, and who shall render such other services to the Society connected with its Library or its general proceedings as the Council may direct.

ART. 7. — The Librarian shall be present in the Library, in person or by an assistant, at the regular hours, and at such other times as may be appointed for keeping it open; and shall endeavor to render it useful to all who may resort to it.

ART. 8. — Any Resident Member of the Society may take from the Library three printed volumes at a time, and keep each of them four weeks, with a right to renew the loan for four weeks more, unless some other member has, in that interval, asked for it in writing; but if he retains it beyond this second period, he must first obtain the written assent of a member of the Council, permitting him to do so, or he shall be fined ten cents a week for each volume so retained.

ART. 9. — All members taking books from the Library shall be answerable for any injury done to the same, to such amount as may be deemed just by the Council; and any person neglecting to pay any fines, or assessments for damages, one month after he shall have received notice of the same from the Librarian, or otherwise abusing his privilege to the injury of the Library, shall, by order of the Council, be interdicted from access to the same.

ART. 10. — At the written request of any Resident Member of this Society, the Librarian shall permit any person to visit and use the Library, at such times as the Librarian may be in attendance; such member becoming thereby responsible for any injury to the property of the Society that may result from such introduction of a stranger.

ART. 11. — At the written request of any Resident Member of the Society, the Librarian shall deliver to any one person indicated in such request, but to no more than one person

at the same time, any book or books belonging to the Society, which the member himself could take out; such member, by such request, making himself responsible that all the rules relating to the book or books so taken out shall be as fully observed by the person authorized to receive them as if he were a member; and that any injury accruing to the property of the Society, in consequence of the privilege thus granted, shall be made good by the member at whose request the grant is made.

ART. 12. — At the meetings in April, July, October, and January, the Librarian shall lay before the Society a list of the names of those persons, not members, who, during the preceding three months respectively, may have had access to the Library by permission of individual members of the Society, with the names of the members at whose request the privilege was granted; adding a statement of each injury that may have been sustained by the property of the Society, in consequence of granting such permission, and the name of the member bound to make it good.

ART. 13. — The Publishing Committee, for the time being, shall be permitted to take such books and manuscripts from the Library as they may need, in order to perform the duty assigned to them by the Society; but the Librarian shall make a record of whatever is so taken, and, as soon as the volume they may have in charge is published, he shall require the return of the same.

ART. 14. — All manuscripts of the Society shall be kept under lock and key, and be used only in presence of the Librarian or an assistant.

ART. 15. — Persons not members of the Society, engaged in historical pursuits, shall be allowed to consult the manuscripts belonging to the Society, provided an application in writing, stating the object of the inquiry, be first made to the Librarian, who shall make record of the same.

ART. 16. — No manuscript, and no part of a manuscript, belonging to the Society, shall be copied, except on permission granted by the Council, after an application in writing, specifying the manuscript, or part thereof, desired to be copied; and if any manuscript belonging to the Society shall, in consequence of such permission, be published, in whole or in part, the fact that it was obtained from the Society shall be required to be stated in its publication. But nothing herein shall be construed to prevent the publication of names, dates, and other chronological memoranda, without special permission.

ART. 17. — Manuscripts of a confidential nature shall be retained in a place of special deposit, and shall be consulted only under such regulations as may be prescribed in each case by vote of the Society.

ART. 18. — No maps, newspapers, or books of great rarity or of constant reference, shall be taken from the Library, except by vote of the Society.

ART. 19. — All tracts, books, maps, and manuscripts belonging to the Society, shall be distinctly marked as its property; and any such tract, book, &c., that may be presented to the Society shall be marked with the name of the donor, and recorded as his gift.

ART. 20. — The Library shall be open on all week-days, from nine o'clock in the forenoon till sunset (but not later than six o'clock), throughout the year, except on the afternoons of Saturdays, and on days of public observance, and also during the fortnight before the annual meeting in April, when it shall be closed for examination; and all books that may be lent are hereby required to be returned previous to that fortnight, under a penalty of a fine of one dollar for each volume not so returned.

CHAPTER X.

RULES FOR THE DOWSE LIBRARY.

ART. 1. — The room in which the books are deposited which were presented to the Society by Thomas Dowse shall be known forever as the DOWSE LIBRARY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ART. 2. — Agreeably to the condition prescribed by Mr. Dowse, no book shall be taken out of this room.

ART. 3. — Books may be used in the room by members of the Society, and by others introduced by them in person; but no book shall be taken from the cases except by members, or by the Librarian's assistant, who shall cause each book to be returned to its proper place immediately after it has been used.

ART. 4. — Meetings of the Society may be held in the Dowse Library, at the discretion of the Council; but the room shall not be used for any other meetings.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE CABINET-KEEPER, AND THE MUSEUM.

ART. 1. — The Cabinet-keeper shall have charge of all coins, works of art, remains of antiquity, and other articles appropriate to the Society's Museum, and shall make and keep perfect and exact catalogues of the same.

ART. 2. — He shall acknowledge each donation he may receive, by letter, to the person making it. At every monthly meeting of the Society, he shall report whatever may have been added to the collection of which he has charge, with the names of the donors; and, at the annual meeting, shall present a full report of the condition of the Museum.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE COUNCIL.

ART. 1. — The Council, as vacancies occur in the Society by death or otherwise, shall, at their discretion, report nominations for Resident Members to fill the same.

ART. 2. — They shall engage whatever assistance is needed to administer the Library, and shall pay the current expenses of the Society, drawing on the Treasurer, from time to time, for such sums as may be necessary for that purpose.

ART. 3. — They shall annually, in the month of April, make a careful examination of the Library and Museum of the Society, and also of the Dowse Library; comparing the books, manuscripts, and other articles in each, with their catalogues, respectively, and reporting at the April meeting, in detail, concerning their condition.

ART. 4. — They shall record in full, in a book kept by them for the purpose, any permission granted by any one of their number for the consultation of the manuscripts of the Society, by persons not members.

ART. 5. — They shall meet in the Society's rooms within one week previous to every regular meeting, on such day and at such hour as they may agree upon, and at such other times as the Chairman shall call them together, for the fulfilment of their appropriate duties, and for the purpose of facilitating the transaction of such business as will be brought before the

Society ; and for making such arrangements as may be expedient for securing the communication of historical papers.

ART. 6. — They shall, at every meeting, report to the Society all their doings since the last meeting, suggesting at the same time such business as they may deem advisable to bring before it.

ART. 7. — On the death of a Resident Member, they shall, at the next meeting of the Society, report, through the President, a nomination of a person to prepare a memoir of the deceased for the Proceedings.

ART. 8. — They shall have authority to appoint such sub-committees of their number as they shall think expedient, to facilitate the administration of the Society's affairs.

ART. 9. — They shall make an annual report, to be drawn up by that one of the members at large who has had the longest term of service.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

ART. 1. — Immediately after the publication of any volume of the Collections of the Society, or at any other time when the Society may order, a Committee of not less than three persons shall be appointed by nomination from the chair, whose duty it shall be to prepare and publish another volume ; for which purpose they are authorized to draw on the Treasurer, and free use is granted to them of all the manuscripts, printed books, and other resources of the Society, except the manuscripts deposited as confidential ; said Committee being required hereby to return whatever they may have thus received, so soon as their use of the same for the purposes of such publication shall have ceased.

In every publication that shall be made from the income of the Appleton, the Peabody, or other publishing fund, there shall be inserted in each volume a statement in print, that it was made at the charge of that fund which bears the expense of the publication.

ART. 2. — The Recording Secretary, and two other members to be appointed at the annual meeting by the President, shall constitute a Committee, with full power to provide for occasional reports, as well as for the permanent publica-

tion of the Proceedings of the Society, subject to the following limitations:—

First, Neither the remarks nor the name of any member shall be introduced into any report without his permission.

Second, All papers read or remarks made by any member, which such member shall desire or be willing to have printed, shall be submitted to the above-named Committee for the purpose, and shall be subject to their discretion: provided, however, that any member may publish, on his own responsibility, any paper or remarks of his own which the Committee may not think fit to include in their report; it being understood that, in such case, the name of the Society is not to be used in any way whatever in connection with such publication.

JANUARY MEETING, 1882.

The regular monthly meeting was held in the Dowse Library, at Boston, on Thursday, the 12th instant, at 3 o'clock P.M., the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the previous meeting, and it was accepted.

The Librarian reported the monthly list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received a letter, accepting membership, from the Rev. Dr. McKenzie, of Cambridge.

The Treasurer announced that the annual assessment on members was due at this time. He stated, also, that he should pay in a few days \$6,000 on account of the principal of the mortgage debt of the Society, reducing that obligation thereby to the sum of \$33,000.

The PRESIDENT then announced the deaths of one Corresponding and of two Resident Members, as follows:—

In meeting here once more, Gentlemen, at the opening of another year, we may find cause for congratulation in the recent appointment of one of our number, Chief Justice Gray, to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, and in the election of another of our number, Dr. Green, to the Mayoralty of Boston. We may well take satisfaction, also, in recognizing on our table the "Annals of King's Chapel," by our associate, Mr. Foote; the "History of the First Church," by Mr. Arthur B. Ellis, with an extended and valuable introduction by our first Vice-President; and the fourth volume of "The Memorial History of Boston," which has thus been so admirably completed by our Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Winsor.

But the new year opens for us as the old year went out for us; and our first meeting, like our last, must begin with notes of sorrow. If we were accustomed to look beyond our own little historical circle, the deaths of such men as Judge Putnam, Mr. Healy, the veteran city solicitor, and Dr. John Cotton Smith, long the assistant minister of our Trinity Church,—to name no others,—might well claim a respectful notice on our records, as they have followed each other in

such close and sad succession since we met last. But we have more than enough losses of our own to recount.

The death of the Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D., takes from our roll of Honorary and Corresponding Members a name of no common significance. Pastor of the Central Church of New Haven for more than forty years, and a professor of the Divinity School of Yale College till his death, he has enjoyed a wide celebrity for half a century past as a preacher and a writer. His historical discourses on the completion of two centuries from the establishment of the First Church in New Haven, his select writings and *Life of Richard Baxter*, his discussions of Slavery and his countless contributions to theological and literary periodicals, are well known to the world of religion and letters. Strong, independent, bold, and sometimes severe, he has been one of the peculiar champions of Congregationalism, and has often been spoken of as, in some sort, the impersonation of New England Puritanism. He died on the 24th of December, in his seventy-ninth year, having been a Corresponding Member of our Society for forty-three years, with but one name among the living above his own at the last revision of our earliest roll.

But there are bereavements to be announced this afternoon which come nearer home to us as a Society and as individuals. A recent telegram from Rome has informed us that our friend and associate, the Hon. Richard H. Dana, died in that city on the 6th instant. The event did not, perhaps, take some of us wholly by surprise, as the health of Mr. Dana has more than once of late years been a subject of anxiety to his friends. He left us, however, in 1879, with the confident hope that a change of climate might reinvigorate his system, and might enable him to complete the work on *International Law* which was to be the crowning labor of his life. And a brief return to Boston, soon after the death of his venerable father, the poet, encouraged us all in the idea that his residence abroad was proving salutary, and that we might welcome him home at no very distant period, with his health restored and his work accomplished. A kind letter which I received from him as he was leaving Paris for Italy many months ago, afforded gratifying confirmation of that idea. But it has been ordered otherwise; and it only remains for us to bear testimony to his abilities and virtues. Mr. Dana established a claim to be counted among the most successful and popular of American authors in his earliest maturity. Taking bravely

to the sea for the benefit of his eyesight, before he had finished his course at Harvard, where he was graduated in 1837, he made a voyage as a common sailor, which has become historic, — returning, as he did, to publish an account of his experiences in a little volume under the well-remembered title of “Two Years Before the Mast,” which fascinated all readers, young and old, and which holds its place as a standard work on both sides of the Atlantic. The celebrity of this early venture clung to him to the last, in spite of any efforts of his own to escape from it or to eclipse it. But his life was thenceforth to be devoted to the Law, with only occasional excursions into other fields, whether of literature or public service. There are those of our number, and some of them now present, who were witnesses and associates with him in the courts; and I may fitly leave it, as I do, to them, to do justice to his eminent legal attainments and to his ability and eloquence at the bar. To others, also, I may well leave any allusions to his distinguished career as a politician and a statesman. But I cannot conclude this brief announcement without an expression of a deep sense of the loss we have sustained in his death. A man of the highest character and culture, of brilliant talents and large accomplishments, of earnest religious faith and life, of genial disposition, whom we all delighted to meet as a companion and friend, of only sixty-six years of age, and with every promise and prospect of continued usefulness and honor, he has been taken away too soon for all but himself, and we all partake of the sorrow which has fallen so sadly on his family in a foreign land.

Too soon for all but himself. How well may I repeat those words in relation to still another bereavement and one still nearer home, which I am pained to be called on to announce. Few of our little number have ever won more upon the esteem and affection of their associates, or have rendered more obliging and valuable service to this Society, than Mr. Delano A. Goddard, during the seven years of his membership. His sudden death shocked and saddened us all yesterday. Amiable, intelligent, accomplished, he had entered heartily into our work, had served us repeatedly as a member of our Executive Committee, and at his death was the chairman of that committee. As the editor of a leading daily journal, his time for us and for other pursuits was not at his own command. But all that could be spared from his faithful and devoted editorial labors — which I know not how are to be so well performed by others — he delighted to spend in our

service, and in this very room. I often met him here, — the last time but little more than a week ago, — and never without a renewed sense of the variety of his information, of the candor of his judgment, of the kindness of his heart, and of that singular modesty which sometimes threatened to conceal his sterling abilities. I will not attempt to speak of his numerous contributions to the Proceedings and Collections of our own and other kindred societies, or of the interesting chapters which he prepared for the noble “Memorial History of Boston.” Others will do this better than myself. It is enough for me to add that he was one of those whom this Society could least spare, one who always recognized and fulfilled the obligations of membership, and lost no opportunity in his power of working with us and for us; and one whose early death at only a few months more than fifty years of age is at once a personal and a public loss. We owe to his memory a more than common debt, and there are those around me who cannot fail to unite in paying it. Meantime I am instructed by the Council to submit the following Resolutions: —

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society have heard with deep sorrow of the deaths of their associates, the Hon. Richard H. Dana and Delano A. Goddard, Esq., and that Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr., be appointed to prepare a Memoir of Mr. Dana, and Mr. Smith a Memoir of Mr. Goddard for our volumes of Proceedings.

Resolved, That this Society will attend the funeral of Mr. Goddard at King’s Chapel to-morrow afternoon at one o’clock.

Dr. OLIVER W. HOLMES seconded the Resolutions, saying: —

I wish it were in my power to say more about my honored friend Mr. Dana. He was my fellow-townsmen, he worshipped in the same temple, he went to the same school, he graduated at the same university, and for twenty years and more was a fellow-member with me of the only club to which I belong. I have always felt as if I knew him well, yet, though so near each other during the greater part of our lives, and always on familiar terms, we saw less of one another than many friends who have lived but a year or two in the same place.

Between the ages of ten and fifteen I attended a school at Cambridgeport, where, on the benches at my side, sat Margaret Fuller and Richard Henry Dana. He could not have been more than nine years old, and probably joined the school at an age still earlier. I only remember him as a little rosy-faced, sturdy boy, piloting an atom of a lesser brother, Edmund, to and from the schoolhouse. They were both too young to share the studies or the sports to which, especially the latter, I was devoted. Quiet, silent, inconspicuous, I remember little about these two boys at that period. One circumstance of Richard's boyish days comes back to me with painful distinctness. A punishment for some slight offence was accidentally aggravated so as to be a temporary injury and give the impression of cruel maltreatment, such as was remote from the master's intention. This act of seeming tyranny may have been among the causes which awoke in his mind that feeling for the oppressed which made him the champion of the abused sailor and the down-trodden slave.

During my college life I lost sight of my former school-mate. To the senior in college the freshman is an embryo, and the boy fitting for entrance a mere possibility and abstraction of the future. He was six years younger than myself, but graduated eight years later, having been interrupted in his college course by impaired eyesight. That infirmity of his gave us, gave the world, "Two Years Before the Mast," the story of a sailor's life told by a large-brained, white-handed gentleman and student, who lived its stern realities before relating them, and told them as those only can who have so learned what they tell. This book brought back my boy acquaintance to my knowledge; its pictures of real life on the element which makes romance of the history of every day; the contrast between the past of the delicately nurtured youth and the to-day of the deck-hand hauling at frozen ropes and clinging to reeling spars; but above all the manhood which pervaded the whole story, — brave, tender, alive to the sufferings and the too frequent wrongs of the seaman, — all this gave his book, a young man's first literary venture, at once the charm of adventure and the dignity of a philanthropic purpose.

Since those days Mr. Dana has been engaged in pursuits so different from my own that it is not to be wondered at that I should have so little to tell of him during these later years. It belongs to the members of his own calling to speak of those qualities which gave him his distinction in the highest range of studies belonging to that noble profession.

Once more he left his sterner pursuits for a literary task, and wrote and gave to the public the story of his vacation trip to Cuba. I could wish that he had found time to tell us in full his impressions in that later round voyage of his, with a shipwreck as one of its parentheses, rich in fresh experiences, of which his discourse was full upon his return. I remember listening to him with great delight as he spoke of China and Japan, and I am sure that, if his graver pursuits had not so nearly monopolized him, he would have made large as well as valuable contributions to our literature. I need only refer to that finished and stately eulogy upon our late eminent associate, Mr. Everett, to remind you that Mr. Dana was one of the most remarkable orators we have known in a community where public speaking has so often risen to a high standard of eloquence. This was the form in which the poetic gift of his venerated father showed itself. If we cannot apply to him a line like that which expressed the regret of the poet that Lord Mansfield was absorbed by the duties of his calling, —

“How sweet an Ovid was in Murray lost,” —

we can at least say that literature has rarely made a greater sacrifice to legal science than in yielding Richard Henry Dana to the demands of a profession which taxes the strongest powers of the ablest men.

Mr. C. F. ADAMS, Jr., said : —

I am reluctant to allow the announcement of Mr. Dana's death to pass by without a few words of affectionate remembrance. My recollections of him go back to what is for me a very early period. He is one of four men whose names are closely associated in my mind with great political movements going on in my school-days, and which I watched with a boy's eager interest. That was the period from 1848 to 1856, — the time of the gathering of the forces. Dana was one of those four men; the other three were my father, Dr. John G. Palfrey, and Charles Sumner. They were all Free-Soilers, as the phrase then went; and to be willing to be known as a Free-Soiler in those days implied something. The party was not powerful, and those composing it had few claims to what is known as social recognition; for, as is usually the case with pioneers in any great popular movement, they were mostly plain men, and young; and so the four that I have named found themselves very closely drawn together

in bonds of common sympathy, with my father's house as a centre. Looking back to that time now, I account it one of the fortunate incidents of my life that it was given to me as a boy, silently conning my lessons, to listen to their talk during those years of political hope deferred. They were then in the prime of manhood,—all, except Palfrey, younger, much younger, than I am now. Of the whole group, my father alone survives,—a man old beyond his years, so that these places which knew him, know him no more. Palfrey drew gradually more and more aside from the dusty and jostling highway of politics,—for which, indeed, he had small aptitude,—and devoted his life to that work which is destined long to remain the standard history of New England; Sumner passed on to his great career in the Senate chamber; and now Dana is dead at Rome.

Presently I went to college; and then, when I graduated and began the study of the law, I naturally became a student in Dana's office, and for years was in daily—I might almost say in hourly—contact with him. Afterward, when the political storm burst, I was swept into the army; and for the next few years I suppose Dana seldom gave a thought to me, except when now and then, after some peculiarly bloody battle in Virginia, he may have scanned the list of killed and wounded, looking for my name. Always when I returned to Boston, however, his office was among the first places sought out by me, and there I was ever sure of the same warm and even affectionate greeting. It has since been twice my good fortune to cross the Atlantic in his company, and to enjoy that interchange of mind which men never have quite so completely as during the long and oft-repeated walks upon the evening deck of an ocean steamer. At home, too, whenever I chanced to do anything which brought to me favorable notice, Dana was among the first of those who sought me out with words of recognition; so that now, though he was twenty years my senior, the tidings of his death have come to me as that of an old and life-long friend.

Richly endowed by nature, Mr. Dana, I think, owed whatever degree of success he actually had in life to what would be commonly looked upon as a misfortune. With all his strong and inherent qualities, there was in his make-up a certain element of weakness, which it is not easy to describe. It was, perhaps, an inheritance; for you will remember that his father won the poet's bays during the youthful period, and could never afterward satisfy himself with his own productions. He was a victim of fastidious over-refinement.

In Dana's case, however, the hereditary trait took another and wholly different shape. He was never too nice for any work to which he put his hand; he never distrusted himself; he evinced no apparent dissatisfaction with the result of his efforts. Yet you were always conscious of a certain tendency he had, whether in matters of religion, or socially, or in his habit of thought, to that which in America is exotic. He liked sublimated things; and he held himself high. He was not quite as other people; especially as most other people. Had he followed the ordinary course of educated New England life, being born when and as he was, he would, I think, have been one of that class of whom Sir James Mackintosh in England was the most marked type,—a man of promise; one from whom friends and relatives always look for some great work, and who, after a life spent in general preparation, passes away with little accomplished. Dana was saved from this by that misfortune of his youth which took him away from home and college influence, and sent him into the fore-castle. He, by accident, enjoyed that good fortune which subsequent fate thrust on so many of my own generation,—he had a great experience before beginning life. He, too, was forced away for a time from books and schools and lectures, and all the dreary preliminaries to a commonplace and money-making career, and brought close to nature. He thus knew what it was to enjoy "our manhood's prime vigor,"—that period when, as Browning tells us,—

"No spirit feels waste,
Not a muscle is stopped in its playing, nor sinew unbraced."

And I cannot but think it would be well for us and for our civilization if every generation of our youth had to pass through a somewhat similar ordeal,—if they went from the collège, not directly to the school and the counting-house, but to waste, as they are pleased to term it, a few years in the field or on the deck. No man—I am bold to assert—who has not slept with his face to the stars, or heard the night wind sing through the rigging as the waters plash on the prow, has lived his life fully. That Dana had done; and it was that which saved him. It was in the fore-castle, and while cleaning and salting hides on the Pacific sands, that he got, so to speak, coarsened down for successful contact with the actual work of life. He was afterward successful in his career just in that degree in which he retained his fore-castle education. As years passed away, the strong, wholesome influence of that experience grew less

marked, and family traditions and inherited influences more and more asserted themselves. They did so, I think, to Dana's special harm; for in his case, above almost any man I have ever known, the great and manly attributes he had were his own; his foibles were the accident of his birth.

He was in his time prominent before the world as a politician, and as a lawyer, and as a writer. I propose to say a few words of him in each capacity. And first let me premise that, after all, in what he did — whether politically, or as a lawyer, or by his pen — he was still a man of promise to the end; and by this I mean that, no matter what he did, — and he did a great deal, — it amounted to nothing in comparison with what he himself, and his friends too, knew that he could do under circumstances which should call forth the sustained exercise of his highest powers. The opportunity was all he needed.

I remember Mr. Dana's saying to me once, during a talk in his office in my student days, that he thought the Senate of the United States was the place in which he would make the largest mark of which he was capable. Many men probably think the same thing of themselves. When they frankly say so, however, there is an irresistible tendency in the listener to smile in silent incredulity at the ingenuous self-ignorance displayed by the remark. In Dana's case it was not so. I thought on the matter at the time very much as he did. Under certain limitations as respects the lessons of the forecastle, I think so now. Dana, however, in this country, could have come into public life, and stayed there, only under certain conditions. He was not adapted to quiet times: he could not have made his way, or held his own, by force of hand-shaking, or universal name-calling at sight; he was no man for wire-pulling, or managing, or making small points. For him to succeed, it would have been necessary that he should grow into prominence as the exponent of great principles, and wholly identified in the public mind with them. Had this been his fortune, his courage, his quickness and resource of intellect, his aptitude for debate, his wonderful felicity of argument, language, and illustration, his love of conflict and absolute fearlessness in personal collision, — all these qualities would have come into play, and sustained him in place among the foremost. Even as it was, he, more than any other, won reputation in the debates of the constitutional convention of 1853, to which he was a delegate; while in 1867, as a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, he made a speech on the well-

worn subject of the usury laws, which not only contributed greatly to their repeal that very year, but which has since been recognized as the best word ever spoken in debate upon that theme. As such, within the last six months it has been once more reprinted, and still does good service. How long is it since that has happened to any other speech delivered in the Massachusetts State House? Yet in public life the fates were against Dana. He was the man of promise and of unaccomplished possibilities to the end.

The law was, however, his calling, and to its active practice he gave the working years of his life. By it he earned his livelihood. As a lawyer, I do not think that Dana was an especially learned man. He was well read; but his mind was too good to run to precedent, as lawyers' minds are apt to do. He did, however, have a thorough grasp of principle; and a yet more thorough grasp of his particular case. He felt a real enjoyment in the conflicts of the bar. Even when a young man, he never seemed to hesitate in matching himself against any one; and to browbeat or break him down was hopeless. They tried it in those fugitive-slave cases, where, with a courage which was simply superb, he faced the law officers of the government, and denounced in measured terms which none could misunderstand the brothel ruffians with whom they had crowded the court-room. Later, as a student, I sat at Dana's side through a trial which lasted thirty days, in which he found himself opposed to Rufus Choate and Henry F. Durant, then accounted by far the strongest associated counsel at the Boston bar. Dana was alone; and, from the beginning to the end, his management of that case was a legal *tour de force*. He was not unequal to the two. He failed to get his verdict; but he carried with him ten members of the jury, notwithstanding the fact that his opponents were aided by such a charge from the bench as few in the court-room had ever heard before.

Of Mr. Dana's legal career, this, however, is not the place to speak. It was as a man of letters that we knew him best, and that he found his standing here. It is as a man of letters, also, that he will longest be remembered. In this capacity, however, he was still the man of promise. And I say this, too, with a full appreciation of what his "Two Years Before the Mast" was, and still is. Here, we are all bookish men; many of us have made our own ventures in literature; we are men of mature judgment, too, who have long outlived the crudities of youth: yet let any one of you, when you get home this evening, take "Two Years

Before the Mast" down from the shelf, and turn over its leaves again, and if you do not admit that it is genius, you will admit that it is something not easy to distinguish from it. It is a narrative perfect in its kind. Nevertheless, it was more than a young man's first offering; it was a promise of things to come.

That Dana was himself satisfied with the outcome of his life's work, I do not think any one who knew him well would for a moment assert. He was, on the contrary, though a man of buoyant temperament, a deeply disappointed man. He knew that he had done much; but he also knew that what he had done was but a very small part of what it had once been in him to do. Then, he had made his mistakes and sustained his mishaps; few men greater. His, also, was a nature that felt the consequences of them keenly. He had ventured himself politically at what for him was the wrong time and place, — on what was made a personal issue, with no broad principle at stake. He had then carelessly involved himself in a literary controversy, which was absolutely sterile of results for good, but upon which he was compelled to waste year after year at the crisis of his life. But, in spite of this, at last came the offer of political preferment, — that preferment, above all others, which would most have gratified his inmost soul, — that which, so far as might be, would compensate him for all. This preferment was actually put in his hand; and, suddenly, one whom he had offended, the Mephistopheles of Massachusetts politics, intervened, bringing that arid controversy to the front, and the prize slipped from his grasp. That he felt the disappointment and the way in which it befell him deeply and keenly, no one who knew him can doubt. He was, however, a manly man, as well as a proud one. Indeed, from the beginning to the end he was one of the most manly men conceivable. That quality stands out in every line of his first and most famous book. So, when he was put to this last and severest test, it was not in him to go about whining, or bewailing, or explaining; or even defending himself, or attacking others. He accepted the situation silently, and turned back to his work. The glad confidence of morning was, however, gone; and, with impaired health and gathering years, he found the routine drudgery of his profession distasteful. Family traditions had grown upon him; the saving grace of the fore-castle was passing away. He could no longer catch the step. So he turned himself to what he believed was yet to prove the great work of his life, — at once his monument

and his vindication; and now he is dead, and it was scarcely begun.

Was, then, Dana the man of promise — of great possibilities unfulfilled — more than aught else? — I do not think so. It was merely that in his case the unusual was looked for; any thing less than that was accounted not enough for him. But even for him, can that which he did accomplish be called really failure? Tennyson has said —

“That in a boundless universe
Is boundless better, boundless worse.”

What, however, can any man do more in the way of success than do one thing consummately well? That Dana did: he wrote the best book in its kind that the world has yet seen, — that book which Mr. Holmes has just now so happily termed “the *Odyssey of the forecastle*.” He, and, with possibly one single exception, he alone of us all, has added a recognized classic to the world’s literature. What can any man of letters hope to do more than that? — and how terribly few there are who ever dare to hope they may do as much! Does it not speak volumes for a man when all admit he did that — and yet his friends talk of his failure to come up to his own expectations and to theirs!

If Dana was fated to die now, it seems fit and proper that he should have died at Rome. I think he himself would not have had it otherwise. His death there, like those of Shelley and of Keats before, adds a new interest even to the city by the Tiber. He too sleeps in the little Protestant burying-ground, under the shadow of the pyramid of Caius Cestius. It is a rare company, that of him who sang of the eve of St. Agnes, and of that other who rendered into English words the liquid music of the skylark. Dana is worthy even of such company; for, like them, he wrote what was perfect in its kind. And I can’t help thinking that, as the years go by, many a wanderer from the far Pacific slope will pause before the grave of Dana even longer than he pauses before the grave of Shelley or of Keats; and, as his thoughts fly back to his distant home, he will see again the sunburnt, barefoot youth, carrying hides upon his head across the beach where now the great city stands, — that youth who vies with Francis Drake as the *Odysseus of the Golden Gate*.

Colonel HENRY LEE paid a brief tribute to Mr. Dana, dwelling upon his fearless courage in maintaining his opinions against popular and social opposition in questions on which he thought and felt deeply.

Dr. WILLIAM EVERETT spoke as follows : —

Mr. President, it is not well that Mr. Dana's name and his book should have the last word said about them without mention of the additions he made to the later edition of "Two Years Before the Mast," giving it the only charm it lacked. The copyright was originally sold to the Harpers, and Mr. Dana gained very little money from its vast popularity; but when, by lapse of time, he became again its proprietor, he determined to complete it by taking up its loose threads. Of these he worked up four strands into an exquisite memorial of the persons and places which had been so fascinating in their early form.

In the first place he added a delightful account of his second visit to California in 1859. The contrast of twenty-three years in a people which might almost be said to have been created, trained, and gained its majority in that period; the respectful welcome that hailed the original pioneer, older than the "forty-niners"; the encounter with old friends, — ship-captains, mercantile agents, Spanish residents, — on whom he had conferred an immortality in their lifetime, are told with every charm that surrounded the original story, and make us feel, as the author did, that we are at home again in San Francisco Bay.

Secondly, he took up the subsequent history of his ship-mates, both in the "Alert" and the "Pilgrim," and followed them one by one, captains, mates, and seamen, as far as he had been able to trace their career. More than once his position had enabled him to lighten the misfortunes which are apt to lie so heavy on an American sailor, and to prove to them that he had not nominally but really shared their hardships and been one of them.

And then he took up the story of the good ship "Alert," and followed her gallant course into extreme old age, when she perished, not from decay, but a victim to the "Alabama." Mr. Dana's friends will remember the model of her which stood in his house, and the delight with which he would tell over again the story of his exposures and escapes during his two years' service.

Besides these additions, Mr. Dana thoroughly revised and filled out the book; supplying names where there had been only initials, and adding some original and characteristic anecdotes, of which, after the lapse of years, delicacy no longer indicated the omission. All these things have added such completeness and tenderness to the book, that I beg all here

not to content themselves with Mr. Adams's excellent advice to take down and reperuse their old "Two Years," but to add to it a copy of the new edition.

This very day, sir, one of my teachers was telling me that his class had just finished their reading-book, Sir Walter's ever-fascinating "Talisman." I said at once, they could not do better than take "Two Years Before the Mast." For I have as yet been able to find no book in the compass of English literature, at once entirely interesting to teachers and scholars, entirely improving and comprehensible, and at the same time a model of pure English, in an equal degree with our lamented associate's story of his early adventures.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, the Treasurer, then spoke as follows :—

Mr. President, I can hope to add little or nothing to what you have so well said of the recent losses to this Society. But I desire to say a word or two of the valued friend and associate whose death yesterday morning has deprived the Council of one of its most devoted and faithful members. Elected into that body three years ago, Mr. Goddard was seldom absent from its meetings, and took an active interest in every thing that concerned the welfare of the Society. By virtue of seniority of service the duty of preparing the Annual Report would have devolved on him; and he had also undertaken to write for our Proceedings a Memoir of another valued associate, the late Erastus B. Bigelow. It was his intention to communicate that memoir at the meeting to-day; but in a note which I received from him only a few days before his sudden illness he expressed a wish to defer it until next month.

His interest in historical studies was no recently acquired taste, but one which dated from a very early period; and on his election into this Society he told me he especially valued his membership, as it would tend to keep alive his early love of pursuits which might otherwise be choked by the cares of a busy and exacting life. How admirably he was qualified for historical investigations by his unwearied industry, his candor, and the even balance of his mind, has been recently shown in the two thorough and in every way admirable chapters contributed by him to the "Memorial History of Boston."

Mr. Goddard loved his profession; and he had a very high and just conception of its duties and responsibilities. To it

he gave his best energies; and early and late he watched with unceasing vigilance over every department of the paper of which he was the responsible head, to keep its tone pure, healthful, and candid. No man was ever less influenced by prejudice, or more disposed to be just and generous toward those whose course he felt compelled to oppose. Though singularly modest and unobtrusive — even retiring — in manner, he was steadfast in his convictions; and having carefully weighed the arguments for and against any opinion or line of action, there was no wavering or hesitancy afterward. Every just cause, every well-directed effort to raise the character of the community, every reasonable plan to make Boston a better place of residence, found in him an efficient supporter. He was a strong power for good in this community.

While, as members of an historical society, we cannot but feel deeply the loss of an associate who was doing much to guide the course of current events, there are those here who feel even more deeply the loss of a personal friend. Mr. Goddard's character was such that no one who was brought into any thing like intimate relations with him could help being attached to him as by hooks of steel. Those who were connected with him in his daily duties felt for him an affectionate regard which he called "loyalty to the paper," — apparently not suspecting that it was a personal relationship to their chief. And this sentiment was not confined to that comparatively narrow circle alone; it was felt by a constantly increasing number of friends. Of them it need only be said, the more they knew him, the more they trusted and loved him. He has left a very tender and precious memory in their hearts.

The Rev. E. E. HALE asked permission to say a word before the Resolutions passed, because his personal relations with Mr. Goddard and with the journal which he conducted so ably gave him a certain right to speak of one who was so truly gentle man and gentleman.

Not that I would attempt to add any thing to the eulogy so well deserved, which you, Mr. President, have pronounced upon him; or these words, so appreciative and true, which speak the personal attachment of one of his near friends, — addressing us with emotions of love which so many of us share; but I do wish, in an historical society, of which the business is the preservation of the materials of history, to say something of a duty of the journalist, too often forgotten, but

which Mr. Goddard always remembered, — the journalist's duty to history.

It should be remembered that every mean, nay, every immediate, temptation would lead the journalist to forget this duty. The profit of the journal, its daily sales, the clamor from the counting-room, do not exhort the editor-in-chief to do his duty for history. All the daily demands made on him from people affected by such things are that he shall make his paper brilliant and acceptable to-day. It is remembered that the man who has done most to debase American journalism was once asked on a piazza at Saratoga what was the secret of making a great newspaper, and that he replied with an oath, "That you must make a — fuss about something every day." The rule is distinct. The editor is to select some one topic, and, by all the force he can set to work on it, is to exaggerate its importance, to make evident the power of his staff and establishment, and to cajole or persuade the public into thinking that thing important. What the real truth regarding the day is, such an editor must not consider nor show. His duty, under this theory, is to make the public think something more important than it is.

I have never been a journalist-in-chief myself, but I was cradled in the sheets of this journal, to which our friend gave dignity, and I was trained in its best traditions. Speaking in the memory of those traditions, and in the fresh recollection of the principles which governed Mr. Goddard's life, it seems a duty to say in such a place as this, that the rule thus laid down for journalism is as bad, in every sense, as it can be. It contrasts, of course, directly with the other rule, — that a journal is to provide the reliable material for history. The journalist owes something to history. He must "highly resolve" that the historian of the future shall search with pleasure, with profit, and with confidence through the volumes of which, day by day, in the drudgery of editorial life, he is now preparing the pages. Every issue of his journal is a medal, which, with the magic of the modern mint, he stamps with the device and motto which shall carry to posterity the judgment which this time is passing on its own affairs. Woe to him if he debase the material of that medal! Woe to him if in selecting the device or in writing the inscription he is thinking of the profits of the counting-room, or of his own reputation to-day!

In a word, with fresh memory of the loss which this Society and the press of this country have both sustained, I should say that we could in no way draw better the distinction between

the two schools of journalism, — that which is bad through and through, because it is sensational, and that which is good through and through, because it aims at truth, — than by saying of the two that the editor in the first school fails because he is false to the claims of history, and that the editor of the upright school triumphs because to history he is true.

Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS wished a record made of the fact that Mr. Goddard had prepared a communication for this meeting of the Society, and said that he would himself present Mr. Goddard's communication at the next meeting.

The Resolutions were then unanimously adopted, all the members rising.

Mr. John C. Phillips, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member; and the Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, of Chicago, was elected an Honorary Member.

The appointment of Mr. Justin Winsor to prepare a Memoir of the late Hon. Solomon Lincoln was announced from the Council.

Mr. Smith, the chairman of the committee on deferred memoirs of deceased members, announced that a notice of Dr. Joseph Palmer was ready for publication in the Proceedings.*

The PRESIDENT presented to the Library a pamphlet entitled, on the cover, "Olmutz," containing "a statement of the attempted rescue of General Lafayette" from the prison at Olmutz, in Austria, in 1794, by Francis Kinloch Huger, of South Carolina. Colonel Huger died in Charleston in 1855, in his eighty-second year, having enjoyed the peculiar friendship and affection of Lafayette as long as the General lived. The account is a highly interesting one, prepared by the daughter of Colonel Huger from conversations with her father, and with some original letters from Lafayette and others on the subject. The pamphlet was kindly sent to Mr. Winthrop by the writer, Miss Elizabeth Huger, through her friend, Ex-Chancellor Henry D. Lesesne, of South Carolina, at Christmas time. She had then nearly reached the age at which her father died, and had taken great interest in the publication of the pamphlet. Hardly more than a week later, a letter from Chancellor Lesesne informed our President that the good old lady died on the 4th of this month at the age of eighty-one.

* See below, p. 224. — Eds.

Mr. JOSIAH P. QUINCY communicated a fragment of a diary kept in London, in 1776, by Samuel Quincy, the Solicitor-General of the Province of Massachusetts, introducing it as follows : —

The fragment of a diary which I communicate to the Society was kept by Samuel Quincy, Solicitor-General of the Province of Massachusetts Bay at the outbreak of the Revolution. It gives some incidents of his life in London for six months, beginning with October, 1776. As the writer had then been in England more than a year, this little book does not give those matters of historical interest which a recovery of his earlier diaries might furnish. For it was undoubtedly Mr. Quincy's purpose, on first arriving in England, to try to obtain concessions which might put an end to the disturbances in America. On the eve of his departure he assures his brother-in-law, Henry Hill, that he shall endeavor to serve his country to the utmost of his ability; and after a few months' absence he informs the same friend that his faithful endeavors to secure an accommodation have met with no success.

It has been stated in a publication which has been widely circulated that Solicitor Quincy left Boston, in company with other Loyalists, at the close of the siege, — thus representing him as abandoning his country for a voluntary exile. This mistake does serious injustice to the position he really occupied. He left America in May, 1775, confident of returning in a few months. But the obstinacy of the British ministry was such that the concessions he had hoped to gain were impossible; and the excitement at home rapidly grew so intense as to prohibit his return. When Mr. Quincy sailed from Boston, just after the battle of Lexington, it was his belief that it was a mistake to resist the British Government by force. While this opinion was not in accordance with the ardent and prophetic thought of the time, it is unjust to stigmatize it as necessarily selfish and unpatriotic. The battle of Bunker Hill had not then demonstrated the heroic resistance of which the insurgents were capable; neither had any oracle predicted the stupendous blunders of England and the generous assistance of France which finally gave success to their arms. What wonder if this official gentleman of the legal profession, with the British love of precedent running in his veins, failed to discern the dawn of a great creative epoch in the political history of man! Doubtless there were Loyalists and Loyalists, as there were patriots

and patriots. But take the best of the former, and we must say that their views, if narrow and bounded, were at least honest and intelligible. Months after Mr. Quincy's departure, leaders of the revolutionists were drinking the king's health and declaring that the establishment of a new government formed no part of their plans.

The acts of proscription and confiscation which, after the close of the war, prevented Mr. Quincy from returning to his home in Boston, cut him very deeply. His correspondence gives us some idea of the plea he would have made in his own defence, had the tribunals of his country permitted him to be heard. He maintains that he has done nothing to deserve the indignity and reproach which this harsh legislation cast upon him. The motives of his conduct were pure, and he declares that if they could have been known to his countrymen, they would never have regarded him as an enemy plotting their ruin. Loving New England with all his heart, wishing there to end his days, to superintend the education of his children, to become a benefactor of Harvard College, he will bear his cruel exile as a Christian and a philosopher; he has given no just cause for the bitter judgment which has been pronounced against him. Such is the tone of his letters. A passage from one of them, which has never been published, will show that the professional success and social consideration which he found in Antigua could do no more than mitigate the calamity of his banishment: —

"Long tried in the school of adversity," he writes to his sister in 1784, "I have learned to bear — almost to adopt — the lesson of St. Paul: 'In whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content.' But I sometimes quarrel with this doctrine, for if the precept is admitted in its full extent it would be a bar to all enterprise, — to those valuable pursuits in the present world by which we acquire reputation and esteem, and those good works which are to procure and enhance our felicity in the next. Besides, in some instances it is impossible. Where is the man that can be content with his situation, who, having been a member of a family perfectly organized, has found himself of a sudden torn from it, — from the relative ties of husband and wife, parent and child, friend and neighbor, master and servant; who has experienced a dissolution of the dearest attachments, a privation of the highest objects of complacency, and a loss for ever of all those endearing kindnesses which, uniting pleasure to duty, have given a spirit to life, and to the power of receiving and communicating happiness its fullest operation? Who, I say, can in this situation exclaim with truth, 'Herewith I am content'? St. Paul and I are much nearer agreed in the similarity of our sufferings: 'in perils of, in perils by

land, in perils by sea, in perils amongst false brethren'; but my feelings will not allow me to be reconciled to his philosophy. I do not think myself less a Christian for this; I do not think myself less a man. He might have had more grace than I have, but I question whether more sensibility!"

It is right to let a man be heard concerning his own motives, when those motives have been publicly stated according to the guesses of others. Samuel Quincy being greatly beloved by his friends and family, they cast about for explanations of the fact that a person of his estimable qualities did not think as they did. John Adams, whose recorded judgments of his contemporaries must be read with some allowance, conceived that jealousy of the brilliant success of a younger brother, together with the blandishments of Hutchinson, had seduced his good friend from the patriotic side. His family, on the contrary, maintained that, as in the case of man's original sin, a feminine cause was clearly operative. The social privileges which surrounded the British officials were held to have had an attraction for Mrs. Quincy that she was able to communicate to her husband. The correctness of either of these explanations may well be doubted. The source of the erroneous decision of Samuel Quincy lay near the surface: it was doubtless that natural bias of a conservative mind which is best described as personal equation. While perceiving the miscarriages of the colonial system, he could not acknowledge that the time had come for a breach with England, and for measures looking to the establishment of an independent government. He seems to have been made of the stuff of which so many good and useful citizens are composed, — those cautious, cultivated, charitable men for whom in ordinary times satisfactory obituaries are not wanting. He simply lacked the direct sight and tireless energy by which the enthusiast carries the day when the statesman's breadth of worldly wisdom is found to fail. But Cato does not cease to be Cato when his human estimate of the chances in the complicated game of politics places him upon the conquered side; the gods who look upon mundane matters from the heights of Mount Olympus must necessarily see farther than he.

Mr. Quincy showed a tolerance toward what he considered the disastrous course of the Whigs, which — at the end of the war, at least — they would have done well to imitate. He has no censure for honorable men who cannot see their duty as he does. His letter to his younger brother, acknowl-

edging the reception of his pamphlet on the Boston Port Bill, is a model expression of dignified self-respect, of deference for the convictions of others, and of tender family affection. History has no duty more solemn than to show facts and considerations in mitigation of those hasty judgments which for a time are registered upon her pages. Naturally enough, the generations immediately succeeding the Revolution were ready to adopt the passing opinions of the patriots to whose genius, labor, and patience they owed their noble inheritance. It is, nevertheless, true — as has been stated by a writer of our own day — that the best adherents of a fallen standard in politics are usually next best in all good qualities to those who lead the force which triumphs. And this generalization will probably be supported by a history of the American Revolution which is yet to be written.

Minutes, Observations, &c.

1776, October 9. This day returned to my lodgings at Mr. Bedell's in the Strand, from my tour to Paris, having just completed it in three weeks. In the evening went with Mr. Fray, who came with me, to Covent Garden, to hear Miss Catley for the first time in the character of Rosetta in the opera of "Love in a Village." She sings, I think, with a clearer and bolder pipe than any female I have heard in England or France.

October 10. In the morning walked into the City; heard the news there of General Howe's taking Long Island. Came on the river to Privy Garden stairs; called on Mr. Bliss and Mr. Flucker; heard the news confirmed. Dined at Riley's, and passed the evening at home.

October 11. Went into the City. Dined at Mr. Lane's, and returned in the evening.

October 12. Walked in the park. Dined and passed the evening at Mr. Flucker's.

October 13. Worshipped at the Asylum. Walked to Camberwell; dined with Mr. Fraser, and passed the night there.

October 14. Walked into the City. Heard of an opportunity to write to Boston by a Mr. Marsh of New Hampshire, *via* the West Indies. Dined at Riley's, and passed the evening at home writing.

October 15. Finished and forwarded my letters to Mrs. Quincy by Mr. Marsh; also to Brother Hill* and my three children.

October 16. Walked to Paddington to see Mrs. Savage, sick. Dined at Mr. Sewall's, Brompton. Evening at home.

October 17. Removed from Mr. Bedell's, in the Strand, to Mr. Thrale's, opposite the Admiralty, Whitehall.

* Mr. Quincy's first wife was the sister of Henry Hill of Boston. — Eds.

October 18. Dined with Mr. Flucker. Evening at home.

October 20. Dined with Mr. Elisha Hutchinson. Evening at home.

October 24. Wrote Mrs. Quincy and Brother Hill, to go by the way of the West Indies, under the care of my friend David Greene, bound for Antigua.

October 25. Walked with Mr. Greene to Brompton; visited the whole circle there; returned to town, called at Colonel Vassall's, Berners Street; went into the City and dined at Mr. Fraser's. In the evening waited on old Mr. Lane to Covent Garden. "The Jovial Crew," and "Three Weeks after Marriage," in which Mr. Lewis and Mrs. Mattocks acquitted themselves with great humor and much applause.

October 26. Mrs. Fraser, Mrs. Mitchel, and Mr. Greene called upon. Dined at Ship. Evening at Mr. Copley's.

October 27. Visited Westminster Abbey. Dined at Mr. Sewall's, and returned home in the evening.

October 28. Sealed my letters to Mrs. Quincy, &c. Walked out to Camberwell to deliver them and take my leave of Mr. Greene, and lodged there.

October 29. Walked into the City through the Borough, made several visits, and returned home.

October 31. Went to the House of Lords about one o'clock; heard his Majesty deliver his speech to both houses; continued there during the debates for an address which lasted five hours. Nothing very new, but on the side of Opposition supported with all the virulence of party. Evening at Mr. Flucker's.

November 1. Walked into the City to see Mr. Greene. Dined at Riley's. Evening at home.

November 4. Mr. Greene called upon me for the last time. Dined at Turk's Head, Gerard Street, Soho. In the evening wrote to Mrs. Quincy, to go per packet, under cover to Mr. Townsend at New York.

November 6. Breakfasted with Mr. Burgwin,* who has taken lodgings in the same house, and by agreement we are to breakfast together constantly. Dined at Riley's. Evening at Covent Garden, where was performed the comedy of "The Conscious Lovers," in which the part of young Bevil by Mr. Lewis, and of Indiana by Mrs. Hartley, were admirably executed, insomuch that their Majesties (who were present) and the whole audience were in tears. The farce of "Three Weeks after Marriage" was the entertainment, and performed with spirit. The parts of Lord and Lady Racket by Lewis and Mrs. Mattocks.

November 9. This being Lord Mayor's day, dined, by invitation of Mr. John Lane, at the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill, where were present Mr. and Mrs. Lechmere, and three daughters, Mr. and Mrs. G. Erving, Mrs. and Miss Flucker, Mr., Mrs., and two Misses Waterhouse, Mrs. Oliver, Mr. and Mrs. Leg, Mrs. Lane, and Mrs. Leg,

* This gentleman was from North Carolina, and is probably the Loyalist catalogued by Sabine under the name of Berguyn. — EDS.

Mr. Sewall and son, Mr. Langdon, and Master Lechmere. The procession came by about four o'clock, — a scene only of mock majesty, confusion, nonsense, and noise.

November 10. Worshipped at St. James's Church, Jermyn Street. Dined at Riley's. Evening service at Foundling Hospital.

November 22. In the forenoon attended the Court of Common Pleas, Westminster Hall, Lord Chief Justice De Gray, Judge Blackstone, and Judge Nares on the bench. The Warden of the Fleet, accused of neglect and malpractice in his office, rebuked gently and dismissed.

November 23. In the forenoon Mr. Lechmere, Mr. Langdon, &c., called upon us. Dined at Mr. Fraser's. Evening at home. Received a letter from Mrs. Quincy and Brother T. Hill, dated 28 September.

November 27. Went to Limehouse with Mr. Burgwin to see the launching of a new packet-boat called "The Lord Weymouth," designed for the West Indies. Dined there at a Mr. Richardson's, who has a wind saw-mill that carries forty saws at once. We stayed till after supper, and then returned home.

December 1. Worshipped in the forenoon at the dissenting church, Pinner's Hall. Afternoon, at Foundling Hospital. Dined and passed the evening at Mr. Brattle's.

December 9. Walked with Mr. Burgwin through divers streets in Westminster, then into the City. Dined at Mr. Boyd's, King Street (Guildhall). Passed part of the evening there, and then home.

December 11. Walked to Brompton, made several visits, and home.

December 12. This morning Mr. Burgwyn set off for Bristol. Walked into the City, dined with Mr. Fraser, &c.

December 13. This being the day appointed for a public fast, I attended at the Chapel Royal; present, the King and Queen, the Lords in waiting, Maids of Honor, &c. The Bishop of London read the Communion Service, and Dr. Porteous preached from Hosea, vi. 1: "Come, and let us return to the Lord: for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up." Dined at Riley's. Drank tea at Mr. Copley's, and evening at home.

December 17. Went in the evening with Mr. Johonnot to the new tragedy of "Semiramis," which was well performed, especially the parts by Mr. Smith and Mrs. Yates. The new Persian tale of "Selima Azor" succeeded, which in point of music has some merit, particularly the songs by Mrs. Baddeley, "No Flow'r that Blows," &c.

December 18. Colonel Chandler informed me of the death of Brigadier Brattle. Walked in the park; dined at Riley's, and in the evening — it being the time appointed for the funeral of the Duchess of Kingston — Mr. and Mrs. Fraser, Mr. Lane, and the two Misses Legg supped and passed the evening with me. The procession was decently splendid, not magnificent.

December 19. Went with Dr. Lawrence Sprague (who told me of his father's death) to consult Mr. Kelham, an attorney, about some money in the hands of Mr. Barclay, &c. Dined at Riley's. Evening,

at the comedy of "The Provoked Husband; or, Journey to London," which was extremely well performed by Mrs. Yates in Lady Townley; Mr. Smith in Lord Townley; Lady Grace, Miss Sherry; and Mr. Manley by Mr. Packer; Miss Jenny, Mrs. Davies; and the Squire, Mr. Burton. Lord North and Sir Grey Cooper, who were in the stage box with their families, appeared much pleased with the part where Sir Francis Wronghead boasts of being a member of parliament, and the promises made him by the Minister. This character was sustained by Mr. Yates.

December 22. This day, dining at Riley's, a dispute took place between Captain Fagan, an Irish officer, and one Savage, a German officer in the English service. Blows ensued, and a challenge; but, detaining the parties, the company interposed and accommodated the dispute after much persuasion.

December 25. Christmas Day, a fine, clear, soft day; many people in the park. Walked to Brompton; dined and passed the evening at Mr. Sewall's.

December 28. Lieutenant-Governor Oliver called upon, and presented me with a commission from the Court of Chancery in Ireland to examine witnesses in his cause with Lucas and others. Dined and passed the evening at home.

December 29. Walked in the park, &c. Dined with Mr. Brattle; attended service at the Foundling Hospital, and returned to Mr. Brattle's for the evening.

December 30. The Lieutenant-Governor called again and acquainted me with the nature of the evidence he meant to establish, &c. Dined at Riley's. This day arrived Captain Gardner, *aide-de-camp* to General Howe, with despatches from New York informing of the General's possessing himself of the provincial forts and garrisons round that city, &c. Evening at home.

1777, January 1. Being New Year's Day, I dressed myself and went to Court. Heard the ode. Saw their Majesties, the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburgh, Prince Henry, three younger princes and three princesses, General Paoli, most of the nobility, foreign ambassadors, and persons of distinction. Dined and passed the evening at home, writing to Mrs. Quincy per packet.

January 2. Walked into the City, dined with Mr. Fraser, and returned home in the evening.

January 3. Mr. Agus procuring me a ticket, I went to the Italian Fantocini, a puppet show, curious enough, but fit only for the amusement of children.

January 6. Walked in the forenoon in the park. Dined at Orange Coffee House, and in the evening went, by a ticket procured me by Mr. Joats, to the Ombres Chinoises, in St. Albans Street, — another entertainment of the puppet kind, and little preferable to the Fantocini.

January 7. Walked to Brompton. Dined at the Lieutenant-Governor's; called at Mr. Sewall's, and came home in the evening with Mr. Smith, an Irish attorney.

January 11. Lieutenant-Governor called and showed me the interrogatories, &c., in his case, and appointed Wednesday next to take the answers at the house of Sir William Pepperell (Kensington).

January 15. Dressed myself and walked to Brompton. Called at Mr. Sewall's. From thence to the Lieutenant-Governor's; and, with Chief-Justice Oliver, Francis and Marcus Patterson, Esqrs., two Irish gentlemen appointed joint commissioners with me, proceeded to Sir William Pepperell's; took the deposition of Isaac Royall, Esq. Dined at Lieutenant-Governor's, and returned home with Mr. Smith in the evening.

January 17. Went this day with Lieutenant-Governor and the commissioners to William Smith, Esq.'s, Mary Bone, and took his deposition. Dined at Orange Coffee House. Evening at Drury Lane Theatre.

January 18. The Queen's birthday. Dressed and went to Court at St. James's. Saw the King and Queen, the Prince of Wales, Bishop of Osnaburgh, and Prince Henry, who were all in the presence, and the three younger princes and princesses in another apartment of the palace. The Drawing-Room was exceedingly crowded with foreign ambassadors, nobility, and gentry, gorgeously dressed, in honor of the occasion. Returned to dinner at four o'clock, and went again in the evening to the ball. The company there was, as usual, numerous, and brilliant in beauty as well as jewels. The music was of a select band, well performed, and the dancing graceful and elegant, though in some instances not more so than in an American assembly. About half-past eleven their Majesties retired, when champagne, burgundy, &c., were introduced, but most of the company soon dispersed.

January 20. Dined at Mr. Brattle's with Mr. Leonard and Mr. Sears. Passed the evening at Mr. Leonard's lodgings in Oxford Street, and then went to the masquerade at the Pantheon. Mr. Rebeccha, an Italian gentleman, with a habit and mask for that purpose, in the character of a travelling country gentleman or squire.* This being a novel entertainment, it afforded us both pleasure and speculation. The grand hall and dome were beautifully illuminated, and all parts of the house open at twelve. The tables were spread with every kind of delicacy, highly decorated and stored with plenty of old hock, burgundy, claret, champagne, &c. The Duke of Manchester, the Earl and Countess of Derby, the Duchess of Richmond, the Duke and Duchess of Ancaster, Lord and Lady Melbourne, the Marchioness of Carnarvon, &c., were of the party and unmasked. But none of the females displayed so striking a figure as the once admired Lady Grovesnor. There were but few masks well sustained, and the music very indifferent. Upon the whole I was not so much pleased as I

* This was, perhaps, Bianca Rebecca, afterward A. R. A., who died in 1808, at the age of seventy-three. He was a painter in arabesque and in descriptive and fancy subjects. See "Mrs. Delany's Autobiography," 2d Ser., vol. iii. p. 400 n.; and Sir Egerton Brydges's "Censura Literaria," vol. x. p. 470. — Eds.

expected to be. Toward morning several of the bucks and ladies of the ton were decently drunk, and afforded a variety of low humor to the sober part of the spectators. About daybreak we filed off, and left a number to revel and intrigue.

January 21. Walked in the park. Dined at Orange Coffee House, and in the [evening attended] the new opera of "Gemondo," where I was much more pleased with the music and dancing than with all the cates and viands of last evening.

January 22. Captain Montague arrived with despatches from General Clinton, with an account of the taking of Rhode Island on the 8th of December. Dined at Orange Coffee House, and passed the evening with Messrs. Bliss and Taylor at their new apartments in Gray's Inn, Holborn.

January 28. Walked in the forenoon. Dined at Orange Coffee House, and spent the evening at Mr. Copley's.

January 24. Dined with the Ark [?] club, where several musical gentlemen entertained us after dinner with catches and glees.

January 28. At Westminster (King's Bench) in the forenoon. Heard Bearcroft, Dunning, and Buller on a motion for a mandamus. Dined at home. Evening at club, Cannon Coffee House.

January 30. Before dinner went to Exeter Exchange to see the model of Paris, executed in relievo, with the environs. It is upon a scale of seventeen feet square, very accurately done, the work of twenty-one years. The streets, lanes, and alleys, churches, public buildings, and hotels are so very just you may with great ease determine any particular spot, as well as have a general idea of the city. Dined with Mr. John Lane, and passed the evening there with Mr. Fitch and Mr. Langdon.

February 1. Forenoon at home. Dined at St. Clement's. Evening at Mr. Evance's, Mr. Brattle's, and then home.

February 2. Attended divine service with Mr. Fitch at Whitehall chapel. Dined with him at St. Clement's; went to evening service at Foundling Hospital, and afterward to Mr. Brattle's.

February 4. Walked in the park. Dined at home. Evening with Mr. Fitch, Mr. Brattle, and Mr. Bliss at the new comic opera of "Il Geloso in Cimento." Much fine music, grand scenery, and dancing.

February 5. Mr. Burgwin returned this morning from Bristol, and breakfasted with me. Dined at home. Wrote to Mrs. Quincy per packet, under cover to Mr. Townsend. Evening at Drury Lane; their Majesties there.

February 6. Made a visit with Mr. Burgwin to Mr. Palmer; called on Mr. Flucker. Dined at St. Clement's. Evening at Mr. Fitch's.

February 7. In the forenoon went to Westminster Hall (King's Bench). The Attorney-General, Mr. Thurloe, moved for sentence against three printers, viz., Baldwin, Randall, and Wilkie, who had been convicted by jury of publishing a seditious libel. A few arguments were offered by counsel in mitigation of the sentence, to which the Attorney-General replied. Lord Mansfield: "Let them stand

committed till the last day of the term, and then brought out."* Went afterward with Mr. Burgwin into the City, and dined at his friend Mr. Allen's, Ironmonger's Lane, where, after dinner, came in the famous Mr. Horne, commonly called Parson Horne, formerly the friend of Mr. Wilkes. I found him a polite, sensible man, easy in his manners, facetious, and entertaining. In the course of conversation he said several things that discovered him to be a warm advocate for America and a bitter enemy to Administration. He suggested that Mr. Wilkes was always hostile to the colonies lest their cause should catch the attention of the people, and his name cease to be the idol of their clamor, the very thing, he added, he has now brought upon himself. He said what we had heard was true, that the provincial army was in want of tents and clothing, and that Dr. Franklin had acknowledged it; but that the French had now supplied them with clothing for 40,000 men, and tents for 20,000, and that in the spring they would have an army of 80,000 or 90,000, though General Washington had hitherto never had more than 20,000 at any one time.† Drank tea and passed part of the evening at Mr. Fraser's.

February 9. In the forenoon worshipped at Whitehall Hall Chapel, where, after sermon, Dr. Porteous was ordained and consecrated Bishop of Chester. The Archbishop of York (Dr. Markham, late Bishop of Chester) officiated at the ceremony, with three other bishops. Dined at Orange Coffee House. Evening, at Foundling Hospital, and home.

February 10. Went with Mr. Burgwin and Mr. London to St. Clement's Coffee House; dined there. Returned home and drank tea and passed the evening at Mr. Flucker's.

February 11. Called on Dr. Perkins at Paul Wentworth's, Poland Street, Mr. Ganer's in Broad Street, and Mr. Polhman's, Frith Street. Dined and spent the evening at home.

February 12. A dull, stormy day; wet streets and snow. Dined and remained at home all day.

February 13. The storm continuing, concluded to stay at home writing and reading. Dr. William Perkins called in the evening. The discovery of the gross forgery of a bond for £4,200 in the name of the Earl of Chesterfield by Dr. Dodd (Chaplain of the Magdalen Hospital, &c.), excites the public attention. The Doctor was private

* These three, with one Miller, all publishers of newspapers, had been convicted of libel the previous December. The libel was contained in an advertisement from the Constitutional Society respecting the payment of £100 to Dr. Franklin for the relief of the widows and orphans of the battle of Lexington. The printers were sentenced February 12, "the last day of the term," to pay a fine of £100 each. See "Annual Register," 1776, p. 201; 1777, p. 167. — *Eds.*

† This was John Horne, who afterward took the name of Tooke, and wrote the "Divisions of Purley." He was a bitter opponent of the American War, and the author of the advertisement for which the printers mentioned in the previous note were punished. He was himself tried for the same libel in July of this year, and sentenced to a fine of £200 and twelve months' imprisonment. There is a summary of his trial in the "Annual Register" for 1777, at pp. 234-245. — *Eds.*

tutor to his Lordship, and under that supposed connection and his character as a divine, he easily obtained the sum of one Mr. Fletcher, a partner with Sir Charles Raymond & Co., Bankers. One Robinson, a broker, whom Dodd procured to get the money for him, was apprehended with him. Before the Lord Mayor the Doctor confessed the forgery of the bond, but said he meant no fraud, intending to return the money in six months! He acquitted Robinson of any privity in the affair. What unhappy consequences flow from such glaring villany in persons of eminent stations and character! The injury must be great, indeed, to the laudable institution of which he was the spiritual guide, and it may well be a question with the undiscerning multitude whether there is in fact any such thing as personal virtue. They are both prisoners, and to take their trial at the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey.*

February 16. The "Experiment," Captain Wallace, and the "Asia," Captain Vanderput, arrive from Rhode Island with despatches from Sir Peter Parker. It is said General Lee is made prisoner by Colonel Harcourt, and is to be brought home in the "Bristol." A report also prevails that Philadelphia is taken, after a general engagement, with great loss on both sides. Dined at home with Mr. Burgwin, and passed the evening together.

February 17. Walked to Mr. Polhman's (Frith Street) and back. Dined and passed the evening with Mr. Burgwin.

February 18. A mild, pleasant day, but dirty streets. Dined at home with Mr. Burgwin and his two nephews. Evening at home.

February 19. At home all day. Wet streets, and cold.† . . . Apollo, the Muses, Graces, &c., and the ceiling after a beautiful design by Mr. Rebecca. This entertainment, so peculiarly agreeable to me, consists of the finest music performed by the best masters, viz., Mr. Bach (the Queen's tutor) on the harpsichord; Abel on the viola de Gamba; Croisdale, Scola, &c., on the violincello; Kramer, the first violin; Fischer, the hautboy; Tenducci, Savoi, and Signora Balconi, singers. It is thought to be the most perfect concert in Europe. The subscription is five guineas for fifteen nights; tickets not to be purchased but transferable, ladies for gentlemen and *vice versa*.‡ The company was splendid and brilliant, all dressed, and in number between five and six hundred, chiefly nobility and persons of the first fashion. The Duke of Cumberland, Duchess of Richmond, Lord March, Mr. Jenkinson, &c., &c. I need not after this say how agreeably I passed my time.

March 8. Mr. Lane called in his coach with Mr. Fitch, and took us to Sir Gregory Page's late mansion house (Blackheath); from

* Dr. Dodd's case excited much interest at the time, and is not yet forgotten, partly from the position and circumstances of the criminal, and partly from the great efforts made to save him from the penalty of his crime. He was executed June 27 of this year. — Eds.

† The manuscript is defective here. — Eds.

‡ The Hanover Square Rooms were fitted about this time, and leased to Messrs. Bach and Abel for assemblies, &c. Probably Mr. Quincy was describing the new decorations, and a concert here. — Eds.

thence we walked through Greenwich Park and down to the Hospital. After visiting the several parts of that magnificent institution (once a royal palace), we went to Mr. Lane's country seat, called Hatchem House. Dined there. In the evening returned home to my lodgings, where the two gentlemen spent the evening with me.

March 9. Dined at Mr. Flucker's, and passed the evening with Mr. Burgwin.

March 10. Walked with Mr. Burgwin through St. James's, the Green and Hyde Parks, Kensington Gardens, and back to town. Dined at Prince's in Sackville Street. Evening at Mr. Copley's.

March 11. Dined at Mr. Copley's. Evening at club, Caunon Coffee House.

March 12. Dined with Mr. B[urgwin] and Mr. Fitch at the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill. Evening at Mr. Fitch's.

March 13. Dined at Orange Coffee House. Evening, opera "L'Ali d'Amore."

March 14. Dined at Cecil-Street Coffee House *solus*. Evening at Mr. Fitch's, Buckingham Street.

March 15. At home in the forenoon. Dined at Fitch's, and went with him to the new opera, "Telemacho," in which there are many grand songs and choruses, and, for the first time on the English stage, singing and dancing at once, after the manner of the French opera at Paris.

March 16. Heard Mr. Bond at Whitehall Chapel; called at Mr. Flucker's; dined at St. Clement's. Evening, Foundling Hospital, &c.

March 17. Walked into the City; made a visit to Mrs. Hayley, Mrs. Fraser, and Mrs. Harrison. Called at Mr. Dowling's (Milk Street, Cheapside) to inquire after Mrs. Amory. Was informed by Mr. Amory that she was so ill as to give over her voyage to America. Returned and dined with Mr. Burgwin. Evening at Covent Garden; Mrs. Barry's benefit, "Twelfth Night" and "The Two Misers."

March 18. Walked in the park. Dined at Mr. Fitch's. Evening at club, Cannon Coffee House, and there received my letters from Mrs. Quincy of 20 January, brought by Mr. Timmins.

March 19. Wrote to Mrs. Quincy, to go by Mr. Langdon of Portsmouth. Dined with Mr. Fitch at Mr. Burgwin's. Evening, went, by favor of a ticket from Mr. Agus, to Bach and Abel's concert in the great rooms, Hanover Square; and by a little address procured admission for Mr. Fitch. The music inimitably fine, and the company brilliant.

March 20. In the forenoon at home. Dined with Mr. Burgwin at a chop-house in May's buildings. In the evening, having obtained a present of three tickets for Miss Davis's benefit, I gave one to Mr. Fitch and another to Mr. Crawford, an Irish young gentleman, and went with them to the opera of "L'Ali d'Amore," which was extremely well performed.

March 21. A clear, serene day. Walked in the park in the forenoon. Dined and passed the evening with Mr. B.

March 22. Wrote to Dr. Bracket. Dined with Mr. B., and in the

evening went with him and Mr. London to see the comedy of "Love for Love," and the new farce called "The Milesian." Mrs. Abington being taken suddenly ill, the part of Miss Prue in the comedy was performed by Mrs. Mattocks, of Covent Garden. The new farce was merely passable; a good overture, and one good song by Mr. Bannister.

March 23. Went with Burgwin to Peckham, and dined with Mr. Porter. Drank tea at Mr. Fraser's (Camberwell), and walked home in the evening.

March 24. In the forenoon called to see Dr. W. Perkins, unwell, at Mr. Wentworth's (Poland Street). From thence went to Mr. Polhman's, Great Russell Street. Dined at St. Clement's Coffee House with Judge Brown, Mr. Fitch, and Mr. Sargent. Evening at Mr. Burgwin's, and home.

March 25. Walked into the City. Dined with Mr. B. at his friend Mr. Green's (Parliament Street). After dinner called at Mr. Flucker's. Evening at club.

March 28. Walked with Mr. Flucker to Mr. Burgwin's. Went to St. Martin's Church (being Good Friday); heard Dr. Hamilton. After church walked with Mr. Fitch, Mr. Flucker, and Mr. B. as far as Portman Square, Mary bone, &c. Dined at Cecil-Street Coffee House. Evening at Mr. Fitch's.

March 29. This morning packed up my things and removed from Mr. Thrale's (Whitehall) to Mr. Bedell's, my old lodgings in the Strand. Dined with Mr. B. Evening at home.

March 30. Walked with Mr. Burgwin to Camberwell. Dined with Mr. Fraser, and walked back in the evening.

A serial number of the Proceedings, bringing the record down to and including the December meeting, was placed upon the table by the Recording Secretary, in behalf of the Publishing Committee, this day.

MEMOIR
OF
JOSEPH PALMER, M.D.

BY GEORGE DEXTER.*

DR. JOSEPH PALMER was of the Cambridge family, whose memory is perpetuated by the name, Palmer Street, given to the narrow lane running behind College House, near Harvard Square. The old residents of Cambridge still remember the Palmer house which stood on the north-westerly side of Brattle Street, not far from where Palmer Street now begins. There is also in the Cabinet of this Society a picture of another ancient house which belonged to this family, known as the Stephen Palmer house, the residence of a great-uncle of the subject of this notice.

The earliest member of the family mentioned by Dr. Paige in the "History of Cambridge," is Stephen (residence before coming to Cambridge not ascertained), who died in 1697, leaving one son, Stephen, baptized a month before his father's death. This second Stephen was a tanner, and had a family of seven children. He died about 1766. His youngest child was Joseph, born in Cambridge, Sept. 2, 1729, and graduated from the college with the class of 1747. Joseph Palmer studied theology, and was settled over the first church in Norton, Jan. 3, 1758. He married Sarah Eames, of Hopkinton, and died April 4, 1791. His son, Stephen, was born in Norton, Oct. 8, 1766, and in due course entered college, from which he was graduated in 1789. Returning home he began to prepare for the ministry with his father, and preached his first sermon in July, 1791, in the pulpit of his uncle, the Rev.

* The late Mr. Samuel F. Haven, of Worcester, had accepted an appointment to prepare the Memoir of Dr. Palmer for the Proceedings, and had collected some materials for that purpose. Mrs. Haven has kindly placed her husband's notes in my hands. The indefatigable annalist of the College, Mr. John L. Sibley, wrote out for his own use the particulars of a long conversation with Dr. Palmer, in 1855, on the events of his life, which he has generously placed at my disposal. This notice is compiled almost entirely from these sources.

John Ellis, of Rehoboth. After declining an invitation to settle in Attleborough, he supplied for a short time the Norton pulpit, left vacant by his father's death. He accepted a call from the church in Needham, and was ordained there Nov. 7, 1792. He was a member of this Society, elected in 1816, and died Oct. 31, 1821. A notice of him, with a list of his publications, by the Rev. Dr. Dexter, is published in the first volume of the Society's Proceedings. His wife was Catherine Haven, born Aug. 28, 1774, the daughter of the Rev. Jason Haven, of Dedham (H. U., 1754), with whom he had finished his preparation for college. They were married May 22, 1794, not long after Mr. Palmer's settlement at Needham.

Dr. Joseph Palmer was the son of this Rev. Stephen and Mrs. Catherine (Haven) Palmer, and was born at Needham, Monday morning, Oct. 3, 1796. He said of himself to Mr. Sibley, that he was reluctant to go to college, and kept postponing serious study, remaining at home until 1814. In December of that year, being already eighteen years old, he went to the Academy at Framingham, then under the charge of Aaron Prescott, just graduated from Harvard College, who was succeeded the following summer by George Otis, also fresh from college. Mr. Otis, afterward tutor and Latin professor, completed Palmer's preparation for college, which he entered, in the freshman class, in 1816. The four years spent in Cambridge were broken only by one winter's school-teaching in his native town of Needham. He was a diligent and faithful student, being one of the two men in his class who were not fined for any thing during the college course. He had a decided fondness for the classics, particularly Greek, in which his proficiency was marked. His part at a college exhibition was a Greek dialogue, and he delivered an oration in that language at the Commencement when he was graduated. Dr. Popkin, who was then Greek professor, was preparing an edition of Dalzel's "*Græca Majora*," and used the services of the best of the students in the senior class in reading the proof-sheets. Mr. Samuel B. Walcott had been thus employed, and on his graduation in 1819, Joseph Palmer was selected by Dr. Popkin to finish the work. As soon as he had completed this work, the ardent student undertook the whole editorial responsibility of another, — a new edition, the third, of Valpy's "*Greek Grammar*." Dr. Popkin, of course, made the final reading of the proof-sheets of the "*Græca Majora*," but Mr. Palmer alone read those of the "*Grammar*."

Immediately after graduation, Mr. Palmer was engaged as teacher of the Eliot School in Jamaica Plain for one year. He then accepted a position as assistant in the school of Mr. Charles W. Greene at the same place, but at the end of three months' service was appointed usher in the Boston Latin School, having been strongly recommended by Professor Popkin as one of the very best Greek scholars he had ever known in college. He began his duties Jan. 1, 1822, and held his place until October, 1824, when he resigned. Mr. Winthrop, George S. Hillard, Chief Justice Bigelow, Charles Sumner, and many other distinguished men were among his pupils. While still an usher he had commenced the study of medicine with Dr. Chandler Robbins. After resigning his place in the Latin School he continued his professional studies and received the degree of M.D. from his *Alma Mater* in 1826. Meanwhile he had married, Oct. 3, 1825, — "Monday at 11½ o'clock, to correspond with the exact time of his birth," — Mary Lucy Loretto Charlotte Gorham. The ceremony took place in the Roman Catholic Church in Franklin Street, the lady belonging to that faith. Miss Gorham was the daughter of James and Charlotte (Kneeland) Gorham, both of Boston, but was herself born at Havana, Dec. 10, 1805. She brought her husband a large coffee plantation of seven hundred acres, which was in time the cause of Dr. Palmer's abandoning his profession. He made a voyage to Cuba in the spring after his marriage, and returned there in November, 1829, with his wife and child, having relinquished what practice he had obtained during his residence in Boston between the visits to Cuba. The plantation, called San Cyrillo, was fifteen miles from Matanzas, and forty-five from Havana. Dr. Palmer sold it the following March (1830) to William Scott Jencks, of Providence, Rhode Island, and brought his family back to Massachusetts.

The next summer was spent at the family home in Needham, then occupied by his sister. In September he joined the "Centinel" newspaper as assistant editor and collector of news, at the time when that paper began to be published daily. A year afterward he bought one third of the Boston "Gazette," with William Beals and James L. Homer as his partners. Mr. Beals, at a later period, connected himself with the Boston "Post," not succeeding in persuading his partners to change the politics of the "Gazette." That paper was continued by Dr. Palmer and Mr. Homer, until, in the early part of 1836, a proposition was made by Mr. Joseph T. Adams to unite it with the "Centinel," of which he was the

proprietor. Dr. Palmer had, in the mean time, lost his wife, who died in childbed, Feb. 9, 1833; and had married, March 12, 1834, Elizabeth Frances Harrington (born in Cambridge, Sept. 7, 1805), an orphan niece of Mr. Edward Renouf, of Boston. Mrs. Palmer's health was very poor, and at the time Mr. Adams's offer was received, her husband had arranged to take her to a warmer climate. He was obliged therefore to leave the question of uniting the newspapers to the discretion of Mr. Beals, who still possessed an interest in the "Gazette." Dr. Palmer sailed for Cuba in March, and on his return in June found himself heavily embarrassed. The union of the "Gazette" and the "Centinel" had been consummated, and Dr. Palmer was liable for notes of Mr. Adams to a large sum. His statement is that he lost over \$21,000, and that Mr. Beals was also a loser to the amount of \$6,000 by this affair. The united papers struggled along until November, 1839, when one of the creditors placed the establishment in the hands of the sheriff. The "Daily Advertiser" soon after absorbed what was left of the "Centinel and Gazette." Dr. Palmer's second wife lived less than six months after the return from Cuba, dying Oct. 15, 1836.

In 1840, during the political campaign, some of the printers connected with the old newspaper secured Dr. Palmer's services as editor of a Harrison paper called the "Whig Republican." But, as the projectors had no capital, this paper had a very short life, expiring after an issue of nine weeks. In September of this same year Mr. Lynde M. Walter, the editor of the "Transcript," was taken ill, and his place was temporarily filled by the engagement of Dr. Palmer. He had charge of the paper until August, 1842, when, Mr. Walter having died, his sister, Cornelia Wells Walter, undertook the editorship.

Dr. Palmer married a third wife, Dec. 7, 1843, — Elizabeth Blanchard Gragg, born Feb. 28, 1810, the daughter of Oliver and Alice (Ditson) Gragg, of Boston. During that winter he was employed as a reporter at the State House for the "Daily Advertiser." The editor of the "Traveller," Mr. Royal L. Porter, was incapacitated by illness in the spring of 1844, and Dr. Palmer was engaged for the same service he had rendered the "Transcript" four years earlier. Mr. Porter died, and Dr. Palmer was continued as editor until the paper changed hands at the end of the year. The "Advertiser" again employed him at the State House during the session of the Legislature. After the adjournment he became connected with the "Atlas" as an assistant editor, where he

remained until July, 1849, when he received an appointment in the Boston Custom House, which he lost in 1853 for political reasons. He at once resumed his connection with the "Advertiser," which remained unbroken until his death.

Dr. Palmer was an exact student, and having noticed that there were discrepancies between the index and the text of the Triennial Catalogue of Harvard College, he spent the greater part of the summer of 1844 in a careful comparison of the two, correcting about two hundred errors, principally in the dates of years. Judge James C. Merrill (H. U., 1807) was always keenly interested in the accuracy of this catalogue, and took special pains in reference to the middle names of graduates, which were not at that time inserted in full. His frequent allusions to the College and its Triennial had a share in exciting Dr. Palmer's interest. In 1845 an interleaved copy of the new catalogue was sent to Dr. Palmer, among others, by the editor, Mr. Sibley. The plan of entering the dates of the deaths of the graduates in the Triennial had been first adopted in this edition, and these interleaved copies were distributed to persons interested and willing to assist in making the record complete and correct. No one was more eager in this work than Dr. Palmer, whose appetite was sharpened by the lucky discovery of the date of the death of Benjamin Parker, of the class of 1784, which had been a puzzle to all the cataloguers. Dr. Palmer examined volume after volume of newspapers. Beginning with a complete file of the "Centinel," he next searched through all the papers in the Athenæum Library, and then those in the collection of this Society. He sought at newspaper offices such files as he could not find in the libraries. During the leisure time of fourteen months, all of which was devoted to this work, he examined carefully over seven hundred volumes of newspapers. For many years afterward he went daily to the Merchants' Exchange, and there looked through papers from all parts of the country, noting deaths, and any facts about graduates of the college. It was his habit also to cut from the exchanges at the "Advertiser" office the notices of graduates, and he carried on for some years a considerable correspondence on this subject. These cuttings and his letters were preserved during the latter years of his life, and would be of much interest. They are not known, however, to be now in existence.

The work by which Dr. Palmer will be best remembered is his own notices of the graduates of Harvard College, published annually for seventeen years in the "Advertiser,"

giving a special flavor for collegians to the Commencement number of that paper. They were printed for the last time in 1869, in the "Christian Register." These notices, so far as they had then appeared, were collected into a book, under the care of a committee of the alumni in 1864, with the title "Necrology of Alumni of Harvard College." From the very brief notices which first appeared in 1852, — scarcely a dozen lines being used for any one man (Dr. Popkin is dismissed with exactly that number), — these obituaries grew into quite full accounts of the life and family of each deceased alumnus. The labor of preparing them was great, and they were written with fidelity and excellent judgment. As the Committee who prepared the volume say in their preliminary circular, their "interest is not likely to be confined to the present time. As they will unquestionably be the means of preserving from oblivion many facts which would otherwise perish, they will, for the classes to which they pertain, form the basis of any future *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*."

The last year of Dr. Palmer's life was attended with some infirmity of body. He died at the Coolidge House in Boston, March 3, 1871. His widow survived him some years. He left one child, a daughter by his first wife, Elizabeth Haven Palmer, who went to St. Louis to teach school in 1848, and became the wife of Mr. Alfred Chadwick of that city.

Dr. Palmer was elected a member of this Society in January, 1859. The records show that he was a constant attendant at our meetings until about a year before his death. He served as a member of the Publishing Committee of the fifth volume of the fourth series of the Collections, which contains the "Hinckley Papers," and the continuation of Niles's "Indian and French Wars." A short paper by him on longevity was communicated at the meeting of August, 1865, and is printed in the Proceedings of that date.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1882.

The stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at the usual hour and place; the President in the chair.

It was announced that the Recording Secretary had gone from home and would probably be absent several months, whereupon the Society elected the Rev. Edward G. Porter, Recording Secretary *pro tempore*, and he read the record of the previous meeting, which was adopted.

The Librarian reported the monthly list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from the Marquis de Rochambeau, acknowledging his transfer to the class of Honorary Members. He reported also that Mr. John C. Phillips and the Hon. E. B. Washburne had accepted their several elections as Resident and Honorary Members.

The PRESIDENT then spoke as follows:—

We had all devoutly hoped, I need not say, Gentlemen, that the cloud which has so often overshadowed our meetings of late had passed over, at least for a time. But it follows us still.

Had not our late venerable friend, Professor Theophilus Parsons, withdrawn from our Society, on account of his infirmities, a few years ago, we should be called on to-day to bear testimony to his abilities and accomplishments, and to the value of his co-operation with us during a membership of twenty years. As it is, we cannot forget him. And the still more recent death of Dr. Bellows, of New York,—whose labors at the head of the Sanitary Commission during the war have entitled him to a most grateful remembrance, quite beyond the sphere of his long and devoted pastorate,—has touched many of us not less than if he had been one of our immediate number.

But our own Resident roll has not escaped from another sad loss. A few days only had elapsed after our last monthly meeting, and the tributes we had just paid to our lamented associates, Mr. Goddard and Mr. Dana, were still fresh in the public journals, when tidings reached us from Worcester that the late Governor Bullock had been struck by a sudden illness which had proved fatal. We owe a kind word to his memory, though, on my own part, it shall be a brief one.

A graduate of Amherst College, and afterward of our Harvard Law School, with large natural gifts, and with not a little various acquirement, he entered early on a career of usefulness and distinction. As Mayor of the city in which he resided, as a member successively of both branches of our State Legislature, and Speaker of one of them, and finally as Governor of Massachusetts for three years, after the retirement of Governor Andrew, he rendered conspicuous and valuable service to his native Commonwealth.

Of later years, his taste for public employment seemed to have been satiated. It may be that some foreshadowings of the shock which has now so suddenly prostrated him had warned him of the danger of encountering longer the responsibilities and excitements of political life. At all events he avoided them, declining all candidacies, and even refusing, as is well known, the highest diplomatic appointment abroad.

Such a withdrawal, by a man of public spirit, of independent circumstances, and of eminently patriotic impulses, as he certainly was, could plainly have resulted from no caprice, fastidiousness, or apathy, but must have been dictated by considerations of which he alone was conscious, and of which he was the only rightful judge.

Meantime he travelled extensively in foreign lands. He delivered occasional addresses at the call of his *Alma Mater* and of others, and he was always recognized as one of our most accomplished and impressive orators. His address before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, and his eulogy on President Lincoln, at Worcester, in 1865, were especially notable. His more recent effort at New York, at the unveiling of a statue of the great statesman whose name he was proud to bear, was forcible and brilliant. And the paper which he prepared and read for the Annual Report of the American Antiquarian Society last year, on the Centennial Anniversary of the Constitution of Massachusetts, was exhaustive and admirable.

At our own meetings, during the six or seven years of his membership, his attendance was less frequent than we could have wished, for there was a frankness and cordiality in his disposition and manners which made him a peculiarly attractive and welcome associate. Many of us will miss him as a valued personal friend, and none of us can fail to lament his death as a public loss. Born on the 1st of March, 1816, he had not quite completed his sixty-sixth year.

I am authorized and instructed by the Council to submit the following Resolution : —

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society has learned with sincere regret of the death of our late distinguished associate, Alexander Hamilton Bullock, a former Governor of the Commonwealth, and that Judge Devens be appointed to prepare a Memoir of him for our Proceedings.

The Resolution was adopted.

Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, referring to his remarks at the last meeting, in reference to an expected communication from our late associate, Mr. Delano A. Goddard, said that a mistake had been made in Mr. Goddard's chapter, "The Pulpit, Press, and Literature of the Revolution," in the third volume of the "Memorial History of Boston," through the inadvertence of an amanuensis in transposing paragraphs in the printer's copy, whereby the relations between the Rev. Dr. Walter and his assistant at Trinity Church, Dr. Parker, had been confused. This error will be corrected in the next edition of the History.

As is well known, Dr. Walter was the rector of Trinity at the time of the Revolution. He was born in Roxbury, Oct. 7, 1737, graduated from Harvard College in 1756, and was ordained in London in 1764. He became, on his return to this country a few months afterward, assistant to Mr. Hooper in Trinity Church; and on Mr. Hooper's death, in 1767, succeeded to the rectorship. After the Revolution Dr. Walter, who had removed to Nova Scotia, was invited to Christ Church in Boston, and to the parish of the same name in Cambridge. He became the rector of the former in May, 1792, and died Dec. 5, 1800.

Dr. Parker was a younger man by about seven years, and a graduate of the class of 1764. Having been invited to become Dr. Walter's assistant at Trinity, he obtained orders in England in 1774, and entered upon his duties in November of that year. He afterward was elected Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, and was consecrated, but death prevented his performing any episcopal duty.

A descendant of Dr. Walter, Mrs. Cornelia Walter Richards, had called Mr. Goddard's attention to the error, and had sent him three letters of her ancestor, with some extracts from the records of his Shelburne parish. Mr. Goddard had taken careful copies of these papers and had expressed an intention to communicate them to the Society. As they are interesting in themselves and honorable to Dr. Walter, they are here printed after collation with the originals. The spelling has been modified to conform with modern usage.

June 27 [1778], *Sunday Evening.*

DEAR SIR,— Since I had the pleasure of seeing you in Boston I have occasionally had in mind the connection that is likely to subsist between us, the time it will probably last, and the effects that will reasonably follow from it. Being just now impressed with a sense of these matters, I take my pen to begin that correspondence and cordial affection whose beginning we are assured of, but whose termination my hope and sincerest prayer to Heaven is may never be known.

Yes, sir, I think it likely that after your next visit among us the invitation I mentioned will be made you in form. The principals of my congregation, to whom I have named you as an assistant, are pleased with [the] proposal. We have fallen on a plan to increase the fund by a farther subscription to £1,500 sterling, which will yield an interest of £90 per annum, to which will be wanted only an addition of £20 per annum from the congregation, which it is supposed will be easily obtained.

We shall then, sir, be not only fellow countrymen and Christians, but, upon your return from England, brother clergymen and associate ministers in the same church, and, judging from our age, so like to continue for a long course of years. In so near a connection (as in the married life) there can scarce be a simple indifference; we must either love or hate one another *cordially*. The bare distant supposition of the possibility of the latter fills me with anxiety because of that miserable train of consequences which must inevitably follow, while I build the most flattering expectations from the other; and therefore I hasten by this epistle, as I said, to begin on my part a friendship of no common kind. Our business and views in our sacred ministrations will be *one*, the improvement and happiness of the people committed to our care. As we shall thus be of one *mind*, let us also be of one *heart*. At present I see nothing to prevent it; on the contrary, every incident conspiring to realize our warmest wishes. Whatever can tend to improve so desirable a purpose let us diligently cultivate, not only for our private satisfaction, but for our greater public usefulness; one method of which is a free and unreserved communication of sentiments. You have before you a sample of my inclinations on this head, and such as I propose to continue as my occasions will permit, till the happy hour arrives when our *personal* connection will put an end to our *literary* correspondence.

If as an elder brother, and with nine years' experience in the ministerial life, I have accumulated any knowledge that can be of service to you, it is at your disposal. Our brother Troutbeck is determined to communicate some of his to you whether you ask it or not. He thinks it wrong to bring a young gentleman into the church without acquainting [him] what evils he has to encounter. Prepare, therefore, to hear them. What is determined with respect to the church in Portsmouth? Is anybody thought of for a successor to Mr. B[rown]e?

My compliments to your good family, and believe me always, dear sir, your friend and servant,

W. WALTER.

[Addressed:] Mr. Samuel Parker, Jr., Portsmouth.

[Indorsed:] Rev. Mr. Walter's Letter, dated June 27, 1778.

BOSTON, July 12, 1773.

DEAR SIR, — Your very affectionate and obliging letter was handed to me by my very good neighbor and friend, Mr. Quincy. In it there are several things which I must take the liberty of remarking upon, — your apprehension of the ministerial life and your own abilities, the comparative excellence of the assistancy offered you in the two churches at Boston, and the determination of the gentlemen of Portsmouth concerning the mode of supplying their vacant church. The first of these I will refer to a future consideration; upon the last I shall only observe that £60 sterling from themselves is such a pittance as surprises me. They judge very rightly of the society. There can be no doubt but, upon the Governor's request, that venerable body will continue a part of the mission. But supposing £40 is continued, what temptation is £100 for a gentleman of abilities to settle among them? And surely other than a gentleman of superior abilities they wish not to see in the church of Portsmouth, the metropolitanical church of the whole province. Had they generously voted £100, and the society would have increased it to £140, they would, in my opinion, have done themselves honor, and would soon reap the reward of their liberality in the excellence of their rector. But this in confidence. Let me now pass to the principal subject of this letter, the comparative eligibility of the two vacant assistancies in this town. Prior to any reasoning upon which let me make two observations: First, that it is hardly generous in Dr. Caner to be interfering in my negotiations when I carefully avoided every appearance of it in his. Second, that I might equitably hold you to your honorary engagements made when you was here, that, if our gentlemen would exert themselves to make you a tender of £110 sterling per year, you should esteem it a temptation, and would settle among us. But, waiving all this, let us consider the two places as equally offered you, and on equal terms. The way by which your judgment would be formed, I conceive, will be by considering which is attended with most *ease*, most *honor*, and most *profit*. That amiable consideration which ought materially to influence a clergyman's mind, "In which can I do most good?" can have no place here, because I suppose it among the things that are equal.

If, then, you inquire which is the *easiest* station (and I know not any man that would choose a place merely because of its difficulty), you cannot be long in hesitation, because with Dr. Caner you must take all his parochial duty, — the weekly prayers, visiting the sick, burying the dead, and this constantly; at Trinity you have neither, unless occasionally, when the rector is sick or absent.

If you look next for honor, you will not remain long doubtful after asking yourself, Is there more honor in a dependent or independent state; a constant employ in the higher offices of the ministry, or the lower; in preaching, or in funerals?

Where, then, is the *greatest profit*? Here we must take in the present pay and the future prospect. At the first blush it might seem in favor of the chapel, because of the greater probability of succeeding to a clergyman grown old and feeble in the service of his Maker. But

are not appearances deceitful? Is the living equal? Do they offer you £110? Suppose they do, is there no uncertainty in some part of it? If it is partly to arise from a chaplaincy, may not that fail? Or if not, why may you not hope, by the influence of your friends, to have *that* with us in addition to your £110? The possibility of this, with your other income subject to no uncertainty, in my apprehension makes the settlement with us clearly preferable at present. And as to futurity, who can tell how long Dr. Caner may continue; and at his death is the assistant certain of succeeding to the rectory? This must depend on the election of the proprietors when their church is vacant, and will be determined by their opinion of a man's abilities and good behavior. Why, then, may you not expect to be elected from the assisstanty of Trinity Church as well as their own? The difference is small and immaterial, and as to all other vacancies the prospect of invitation is certainly just equal.

I conclude, then, as before, that the settlement with us is the most eligible for a young gentleman. I may be prejudiced in favor of my own church; my prejudices, however, are not unsupported. And if the bias of your inclination is toward Trinity, it is a bias not fanciful but rational. I will not blame Dr. Caner for saying what he can in favor of his own offer. I commend you for taking both into consideration. But I should think myself a very cool and indifferent negotiator, if I did not present everything to my friend that I thought could have a tendency to make him yield to my virtuous wishes and the laudable exertions of my flock. And I will hope that the time is not far off when you will be agreeably established among us. Whether you are here at Commencement or in August will be perfectly immaterial to our gentlemen; whichever is preferable to you will be most pleasing to us, and particularly to, dear sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

W. WALTER.

[Indorsed:] Rev. Mr. Walter's Letter, July 12, 1778.

July 19, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — Not having been favored with an answer to my last, I have only to pursue the plan which I there prescribed to myself, and in this letter speak of the ministerial office which you very justly call "an important one," and seem to doubt of your abilities to execute.

It is indeed an important office; no less than that of pointing out to men the way that leads to their eternal happiness, and assisting them in it skilfully and diligently; and requires in him who undertakes it a competent knowledge of the divine will, however manifested, whether in the works of nature or the volumes of revelation, a capacity of explaining that will even to the meanest parishioner, and a zeal in enforcing the various parts of it, whether doctrinal or preceptive, upon the minds and consciences of his hearers proportionate to the value of that in them which is *immortal*, accompanied with prudence in the delivery of his prescriptions, whether for reforming the sinner or improving the

saint, and a life exemplifying all that he recommends to others, without which all his well-wrought discourses will be like the perfumes of the apothecary, poisoned with the infection of dead flies, more likely to injure than benefit; for, in spite of ourselves, men will judge of our doctrines by our lives. And, moreover, upon the sedulous discharge of the numerous duties of this office when adopted, depends our reputation in this world and our happiness in the next, — a thought which, at first occurrence, might fill a modest mind with diffidence and dread, and incline him to determine on some humbler station where he might pass his life, if possible, unnoticed, at all events unanswerable for the conduct of those that are around him. But are we born for ourselves only? Reason and revelation both affirm the contrary. Shall we, then, decline a path in which we may be extremely useful because it is extremely difficult, or through fear of our abilities? Not for the former reason: the post of danger is the post of honor; the latter, where well founded, is indeed a just exception. But let us remember that God hath not given to all men equal abilities, but divided to every man severally as he wills; nor hath he required in the stewards of his mysteries universally the richest gifts and graces; if he had, he would have prescribed other methods than he has for the supplial of his church. There is, therefore, no room for fear in him who is tolerably endowed. The principal requisite in such an one is a sincere disposition to be useful; in a word, to do all the good he possibly can. Without this he is not *moved*, as the ordination-office requires, of the *Holy Ghost*; but with this he certainly is, and, being regularly invited, may give himself freely to it, not doubting but he who has called him will give him sufficient ability, and having begun this good work in him will carry it on to perfection.

Were your endowments, therefore, either natural or acquired, inferior to what they are, I see no necessity for your declining on this account the invitation which Providence is now throwing in your way. And when they are, by the confession of your intimates who must be allowed to be the fittest judges, *above* the common level, you have still less reason to hesitate or be diffident. When, indeed, we contemplate those *worthies* who have trod the stage before us, it is almost impossible for us not to succumb. But let us remember that there was a time when such names as Tillotson, Sherlock, Clarke, could not write or reason better than you or I. And as we know not to what height, by assiduous cultivation of our powers, we also may rise, let this encourage us; and though we fall short of them, it is contending for a glorious prize; and in arduous pursuits there is some merit in attempting.

I am always yours most affectionately,

W. WALTER.

[Indorsed:] Rev. Mr. Walter's Letter, July 19, 1773.

Extract from the Records of the united Parishes of St. George and St. Patrick, Shelburne, Nova Scotia, made by the Reverend Dr. White, Jan. 31, 1874.

At a meeting of the vestry of the Parish of St. George, held at the house of the Reverend Dr. Walter, in Charlotte Lane, Shelburne, on Thursday evening, March 31, 1791.

Present :

The Reverend Dr. Walter, Rector; Mr. Skinner, Mr. Combault, Church Wardens; Mr. Bruce, Mr. Braine, Mr. Cox, Mr. Collins, Captain McKinnon, Mr. Springall, Mr. Brinley, Vestrymen. The Reverend Rector was pleased to open the business of the vestry with the following speech, notifying the necessity he was under of quitting this Province, and removing with his family therefrom in a short time:—

To the Wardens and Vestry of St. George's Parish, in Shelburne, Nova Scotia.

GENTLEMEN,—I have requested your attendance at this time to acquaint you that my affairs in the States are become, by the decease of my nearest relatives in that country, so numerous and involved that I must, for the benefit of my family, either make yearly visits or remove there altogether. Annual visits are attended with so many difficulties, besides the risk and loss of time, that I have at length determined on the alternative; and however painful it may be to think of leaving a people I have so long resided among, I am necessitated to inform you that I expect shortly to remove with my family, and that relation will cease which has many years so happily subsisted between us. To the care of my fellow missionary I must, then, commend you; and while I rejoice that there is here another clergyman who will cheerfully render you every pastoral service, it is no small addition to my pleasure to behold you settled in a regular parochial state, forming, when united with your brethren of the other parish, without doubt, the second Episcopal society in the Province, enjoying all the ordinances of our most holy religion in great perfection, and possessing a most respectable church to assemble in for public worship. To reflect that I have been but distantly instrumental in bringing you to this happy state, and in procuring from two of my very valuable friends in London so handsome a set of books for the reading-desk, and so elegant a service of plate for the communion table, is among my highest gratifications. In what manner I have served among you in the ministry upwards of seven years, next to that sovereign Being before whose omniscient eye all things are open, you are my judges.

The kind attention which I have received from my parishioners in general, and from you, gentlemen, in particular, demands my most grateful acknowledgments, and I beg you to accept them as offered in great

sincerity. And though I shall shortly have no farther duty to perform in this place, my regards will always remain, nor shall I cease to bend my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he will grant you to abound in that *faith* and *love* wherein you have been instructed, — that *faith in Christ* to which remission of sins is promised, and that *love to God* which, when perfected by the love of our neighbor, is an assurance of future glory. May I request the continuance of your prayers for me, though absent? And by our mutual solicitations at the throne of grace may we attain to a lively hope that, though now for a short time separated, we shall meet again in a better world, where we shall enjoy the happy fruits of each others' affection, and pass our eternity in the delightful service of that God whom we have so often worshipped together in his temple here below.

W. WALTER,

Rector of St. George's Parish.

SHELburnE, 31st March, 1791.

On the Monday following, April 4, 1791, the wardens and vestry waited on the Reverend Dr. Walter and presented an answer to his farewell address:—

To the Reverend William Walter, D.D., Rector of the Parish of St. George, in Shelburne.

REVEREND SIR,—We, the church wardens and vestry of your parish, impressed with a lively sense of the very solemn and affecting manner in which you have been pleased to notify to us the indispensable necessity you are under of shortly removing with your family from this place, beg leave to assure you we most sincerely lament that the relation which hath for many years so happily subsisted between us must so soon cease. Permit us, reverend sir, on this occasion to offer you our most grateful acknowledgments for the numerous instances of pastoral affection which your parishioners have experienced during your ministry, and especially for the munificent presents of a set of books for the reading desk, and the elegant service of plate for the altar, which, through your interest with your very valuable friends in London, have been made to our church. And as it must naturally afford you the truest satisfaction that we possess a most respectable church to assemble in for Divine worship, it is an additional object of our gratitude, that to your benevolent exertions, united with those of your worthy brother missionary, we, in a great degree, owe this blessing. The manner in which you have served among us in the ministry for upwards of seven years, while it entitles you to our warmest praise, will not fail of making a lasting impression on our remembrance. And it gives us the most sincere satisfaction to find that the attentions which your parishioners in general have had it in their power to pay you, though far short of their wishes, are honored with the testimony you have thus publicly granted them of your approbation. In the moment of taking our affectionate leave we shall not cease, reverend sir, to offer

up our vows to the Almighty, whose faithful minister you are, for your safe passage, and that every blessing [may attend] you and your amiable family here and hereafter. And we presume to add our persuasion, that, as you will long preserve a chief place in our memory, we shall not want your prayers for the welfare and prosperity of Shelburne, and of the members of that church who have been so often spiritually benefited by your pious instructions.

We have the honor to be, with the most affectionate esteem and respect, reverend sir, your most faithful, obliged, and devoted humble servants.

Signed, { *RI. COMBAULD,* } *Church Wardens.*
 { *S. SKINNER,* }

RANALD MCKINNON, JAS. BRUCE, THOMAS BRAINE, SAM'L CAMPBELL, JAS. COX, LYNDE WALTER, JAS. COLLINS, RICH'D HALL.

Dr. ELLIS exhibited, with the documents relating to its transfer to this country, and to his own possession of it, a massive silver-gilt "loving cup," given to the Corporation of our mother town of Boston, Lincolnshire, England, by Richard Bell, Mayor, 1745, and so inscribed, with shield of arms, &c. This cup, with some other pieces of the civic plate, was sold at auction by the Corporation in 1837. It was purchased by Mr. Daniel Jackson, and by him bequeathed to his son, Mr. George Jackson, after whose death, May 22, 1881, it was again purchasable. A nephew of Dr. Ellis, Mr. Arthur B. Ellis, of this city, while in Boston last summer, purchased it in behalf of his uncle. Dr. Ellis announced his intention to present this cup to the St. Botolph Club in this city, on the stipulated condition, to be entered on our records, that if ever the club was disbanded or its assets dispersed, the cup should be transferred to this Society.*

The PRESIDENT then introduced the following letter from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in reference to the collection of Franklin Papers, offered for sale to the United States government, by Mr. Stevens, of London : —

It has long been known that a very large collection of the original papers of Benjamin Franklin is in the possession of our Corresponding Member, Mr. Henry Stevens, of late years residing in London. They have always been understood to be held by him at a large price, but the examination of the papers has abundantly proved that they were worth all that was demanded for them.

* See the action of the St. Botolph Club, below, p. 265. — Eds.

Recent overtures for their purchase having been made to our national government, the late Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, with the authority of President Garfield, sent the Librarian of the State Department, Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, to London last spring to make careful examination of the papers and report upon them in detail.

This report is now printed, and contains a careful list of 2,938 documents and papers, of which 2,310 have never been printed; while in the 628 which had been printed many inaccuracies and omissions were discovered.

There seems now to be a general feeling that this collection of the original papers of Franklin, connected as they are with his negotiations and long services abroad, ought to be in our national archives, with those of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Hamilton.

And I have here a letter from the Pennsylvania Historical Society, urging upon this Society to co-operate with them in recommending the necessary appropriation by Congress. The State of Franklin's birth and that of his long residence may well concur in taking the lead on the subject.

The letter is as follows:—

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, No. 820 SPRUCE STREET,
PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 25, 1882.

DEAR SIR,— At a meeting of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on the 23d instant, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has learned that the collection of manuscripts, newspapers, almanacs, books, &c., relating to Benjamin Franklin, now owned by Mr. Henry Stevens, of London, has been offered to the government of the United States for the sum of \$35,000; and

Whereas, having regard to the completeness of the collection, the impossibility of duplicating it, and the fact that it contains material of the utmost importance with reference to some of the most interesting periods of the history of this country, the price demanded for it does not appear to be unreasonable; therefore

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Society, if the Government shall neglect to take advantage of this opportunity, which is not likely to recur, it will have failed in the performance of a manifest duty; and

Resolved, That Congress be earnestly advised and urged to take such measures, and make such appropriations at once as may be necessary, in order to secure the collection.

I was instructed to communicate this fact to the Historical Society of Massachusetts, in the hope that that body might unite with us in making this appeal to our government on behalf of an object of so great importance and such common interest.

I have the honor, Sir, to be, very respectfully yours,

GREGORY B. KEEN,

Cor. Sec. Hist. Soc. Penn., and Sec. of Council.

To the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Esq., LL. D.,
President Hist. Soc. Mass., &c., &c.

Mr. WINSOR offered the following preamble and resolution, which were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has forwarded to this Society a copy of its record of action in regard to the purchase of the Franklin Papers; and

Whereas, a concerted action seems to us proper, therefore

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society, having a great concern for the acquisition and preservation among the national archives of the precious records of the early history of this Republic contained in the papers of Benjamin Franklin, now offered for sale by Henry Stevens, of London, urgently recommend that the necessary appropriation be made by Congress for their purchase.

Mr. GEORGE S. HALE called attention to a recent pamphlet presented by Horatio Hale, entitled "Hiawatha and the Iroquois Confederacy," in which Mr. Hale (H. U., 1837), the philologist and ethnologist of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition of 1838, has given an interesting account of the origin of the Great Iroquois Confederacy, about the middle of the 15th century, and its founder Hiawatha, derived from the lips of living representatives and successors of Hiawatha and his associates, and from a remarkable volume of Indian History and Ceremonial. Citizens of the United States, its successors on the American continent, could not, he said, but have a peculiar interest in this league of several sovereignties, under the general control of a Federal Senate, composed of representatives elected by each nation, with a National Council, allowing the admission of new States, and in which successive members, like an English "Norfolk," "Derby," or "Bedford," have the titular names of their predecessors.

Hiawatha, an Iroquois Solon, has been transformed by the poet's wand and the mistakes of early compilers of Indian legends into an Ojibway demigod, Son of the West Wind,

companion of the tricksy "Pau-puk-kee-wis" and the boastful "Iagoo." As Mr. Hale says, if a Chinese traveller had confounded King Alfred with King Arthur, and both with Odin, he would not have confused names and characters more absurdly or preposterously.

Without repeating this narrative, the speaker called attention particularly to the remarkable volume referred to, designated by Mr. Hale as an Indian "Veda," sometimes called the "Book of Rites," or the "Book of the Condoling Council," now over a century — and, in part, more than one hundred and thirty years — old, containing the fundamental laws of the league, — an Iroquois Constitution, as it were, a list of the ancient towns and of the chiefs of the first council, with the speeches, songs, and other ceremonies which have from the earliest period composed the proceedings of the Council when a deceased chief is lamented and his successor installed. Mr. H. Hale, in reply to some inquiries, writes: —

"'The Book of Rites,' or at least the most important portion of it, is already translated. With some labor I have succeeded in getting what I believe to be an accurate version of it, or rather of the Mohawk portion of it, which is the larger and more important part. The book is in two sections, the one in the Mohawk dialect, the other in the Onondaga. The latter, which is a sort of supplement to the former, illustrating and confirming it, I only obtained at my last visit to the New York Onondagas in 1880, when there was not a sufficient time to get a literal version throughout, though I obtained a good outline of its very interesting contents. The Mohawk portion is in a rather archaic style, with many obsolete words. It was written, I think, about one hundred and thirty years ago, but its contents (or a portion of them) had evidently been preserved in memory from a much earlier time. In the translation there have been more helps than you would perhaps suppose. There is a Mohawk Dictionary, made two hundred years ago by Bruyas, a Jesuit missionary, and printed lately by J. G. Shea, in his Library of American Linguistics, under the title (given to it by its author) of 'Radices Verborum Iroqueorum.' This fortunately contains many of the words which are now obsolete. Then there are two excellent works on Iroquois Grammar, by a well-informed French missionary now in Montreal, the Rev. J. A. Cuoq, a correspondent of mine. There is an Indian clergyman of the English Church, a friend of mine, the Rev. Isaac Bearfoot (now in charge of a *white* congregation at Point Edward, near the Detroit River), who took the trouble, at my request, to come to the 'Six Nations' Reserve,' to meet some of the older Indians and aid me in the translation. My principal instructors, however, have been three 'high chiefs,' whose portraits you will see in the accompanying picture: Chief John Smoke Johnson (No. 4), the Speaker of

their Council (now eighty-eight years old) ; his son, Chief George Johnson, Government Interpreter (No. 2), an educated gentleman and my special friend ; and Chief John Buck (No. 3), keeper of the wampum, a very worthy man, though unfortunately still a pagan. With these aids I have obtained not merely a translation, but, I think, a correct grammatical analysis of nearly every word in the Mohawk portion of the book, along with much other very curious and interesting information, historical and ethnological. Chief George Johnson is descended (or supposed to be) on one side from Sir William Johnson, and on the other side from one of Hiawatha's colleagues, whose name he bears in the Great Council."

This photograph, representing six of the older chiefs explaining their wampum records, the speaker presented to the Society for the Cabinet.

The Rev. Dr. E. E. HALE read some extracts from a manuscript diary kept by B. I. Holland, of Petersham, a soldier in the Revolutionary War.*

Arthur Lord, Esq., A. B., of Plymouth, was elected a Resident Member ; Professor William F. Allen, A. M., of Wisconsin, was elected a Corresponding Member ; and Professor John R. Seeley, A. M., of Cambridge, England, was elected an Honorary Member.

Mr. ELLIS AMES said that he was reminded by the Yorktown celebration of interviews which he had formerly had with the late Mr. Francis Bassett, of this city, who visited England before the Crimean war, and was there the guest of Lord Braybrooke, whose wife was a granddaughter of Cornwallis. Lord Braybrooke had three sons, two of whom were killed in the Crimea, in consequence of which their mother died insane.

Mr. WINSOR stated that he had received a letter from the Bishop of London, acknowledging a gift of his paper on the history of the Bradford Manuscript, read at the November meeting of this Society. The Bishop wrote that the paper would be placed with the original manuscript in the Library at Fulham.

Mr. DEANE exhibited a copy of a book known as "Church's Philip's War," printed in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1772, and remarked upon it as follows : —

This book is a second edition of that first published in Boston in 1716, entitled "Entertaining Passages relating to Phil-

* Dr. Hale's absence in Europe necessitates the postponement of the printing of this diary. — Eda.

ip's War," &c., and was edited, as is believed, by Dr. Stiles, for Solomon Southwick, of Newport, its printer and publisher. It contains two portraits, one inscribed "Philip, King of Mount Hope," and the other, "Colonel Benjamin Church," both from the graver of Paul Revere. The original edition had no portraits. That of Philip is a frightful-looking picture, and might naturally be taken for a fancy sketch. The portrait of Colonel Church might seem to lay some claim to authenticity, and persons not familiar with the original edition of 1716 might reasonably infer that both pictures were taken from that edition. Mr. Samuel G. Drake, in 1825, published a new edition of this book, and in a second issue of that publication two years later, he said that he had never met with a copy of the original edition of Church, but had used the second or Newport edition, then become very scarce. In this edition of 1827, he inserted the portrait of Colonel Church (newly engraved from that in the Newport edition), on which he inscribed, "*Fac-simile* of an original likeness of Colonel Benjamin Church." This engraving was reissued many times by Mr. Drake, who had every reason to believe it to be genuine.

In a report on the Belknap Papers presented to this Society in March, 1858, I had occasion to speak of Dr. Stiles's edition of Church's History, and I said that it was "embellished with a fanciful and frightful picture of the Indian King Philip, . . . and an equally fanciful one of Colonel Church, for I think the latter was taken from a picture of Charles Churchill, the poet, with the addition of a powder-horn slung around his neck." I had heard this suggestion made some time before by some one at the College Library, perhaps it came from Mr. Sibley,* and I had attempted to verify it. But the copies of Churchill's picture which I was able to consult were modern copies, and though I could perceive a general likeness, the proof was not positive. But I have recently found a copy of Churchill's portrait published in the "Court Miscellany and Gentleman and Lady's Magazine" for September, 1768, — four years before the Newport edition of Church's History was published, — which was evidently the very one which Revere copied.† This is not only shown, as members

* Mr. Sibley, who was present at the meeting at which these remarks were made, said he thought that Mr. Henry Stevens, of London, had made this suggestion to him.

† I am indebted to Mr. George E. Littlefield, Bookseller, 67 Cornhill, Boston, for this copy of the portrait of Churchill, which, at my request, he extracted from an imperfect copy of the London magazine referred to in his possession.



MR. C. CHURCHILL.



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will see, by the likeness of the person, but the vignette which surrounds the picture as a frame is exactly copied, and in the same size. Revere has slung a powder-horn round the neck of the poet in his copy of the picture, and, thus equipped, sent it out into the world as the *lively effigies* of Church, the great Indian warrior. The engraved letters beneath the poet's picture, "Mr. C. Churchill," are exactly imitated under the copy inscribed, "Colonel Benjamin Church." Revere's work is rough compared with that from which he copied, and he has made a slight change in some of the features. How far the perpetrators of this fraud, which one can hardly contemplate without a certain sense of humor, as an excellent joke, were influenced, in their selection of this picture, by the similarity of the name, we do not know. It surely could not have been on account of any supposed similarity of character, for no two men could be more unlike in all respects than the sad dog Churchill and the Puritan warrior Church.*

Mr. Drake also issued a re-engraved copy of the picture of King Philip in several of his publications; at first in the "Book of the Indians," in 1833, but with a word of caution there as to its genuineness. Both these pictures, of Philip and Church, have already done good service, and for aught I know are still, like John Brown's body, marching on; one with his powder-horn, and the other with his powder-horn and gun; one a puzzle to antiquaries, the other a terror to children. Charles Churchill died at the early age of thirty-four. He had many escapades during his short career, but he never could have dreamed of the fate destined for him across the Atlantic, and the paces he was to be put through by means of the graver of Paul Revere.†

The PRESIDENT then said:—

We may not forget, Gentlemen, that the approaching 22d of this month will be the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Washington's birthday. I recall the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of that event in this city and throughout the country. An excellent oration was delivered at the Old South Church by our former associate, the late Hon. Francis C. Gray, and I was proud to form a part in

* See some remarks of Dr. Dexter on this portrait, in his edition of Church's History, Boston, 1865, p. xliii. See also pp. ix, xxxvii, 13, 52, 60.

† Mr. Deane exhibited the portraits of Church and Churchill to the meeting, and heliotype of them are given at this place. The reproductions have a shaded background, which does not appear in the original pictures.—Eds.

the escort of the procession, as a young volunteer officer. Mr. Webster, meantime, was presiding at a Congressional dinner at Washington, which gave occasion to one of his most felicitous and memorable utterances. I had proposed to offer a reception to this Society on the recurrence of this jubilee day; but it comes on the day known to the Roman Catholic and Protestant Episcopal Churches as Ash Wednesday; and Washington, as a good Churchman, would have counselled us that his birthday should not be allowed to interfere with any religious solemnities. Our new flag, however, may well be hung out from the windows, as it will be at Bunker Hill and, doubtless, under the auspices of our worthy Mayor, on the public buildings of the city. We can better afford to omit the commemoration of any other birthday, in the calendar of mere humanity, than that of the Father of his Country, and once in fifty years it may well be specially observed.

MARCH MEETING, 1882.

The regular meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at 3 o'clock P. M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the previous meeting was read and accepted.

The Librarian presented the monthly list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters from Mr. Arthur Lord and Professor William F. Allen, accepting the memberships to which they had been elected.

The PRESIDENT then introduced the business of the meeting with the following remarks:—

We have too often, Gentlemen, of late, been called on to open our meetings with allusions to the dead. Let us be thankful that to-day we may think only of the living. Our hearty sympathies and best wishes have been drawn to Cambridge during the last fortnight, where we would gladly have offered our felicitations to our illustrious associate, Longfellow, on his seventy-fifth birthday, which was commemorated on the 27th of February. We all rejoice in his improving health. And now we may well present our cordial congratulations to our venerable colleague, Dr. Paige, the Historian of the Town of Cambridge, whose eightieth birthday was so appropriately celebrated last evening. We welcome him here this afternoon. Nor could we have failed, had he been present, to hail with the highest respect our excellent associate and friend, the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester, whose eighty-fourth birthday also occurred yesterday, and who presides over the American Antiquarian Society with unabated vigor and distinguished usefulness.

But I pass to other topics.

At one of our meetings last year I called attention to the portrait of JOHN HAMPDEN, now in the Executive Mansion at Washington, and gave some account of its history. At a subsequent meeting I described the portrait of LAFAYETTE, which has hung in the hall of the House of Representatives of the United States since it was painted and presented by Ary Scheffer, nearly sixty years ago.

I wish to say a few words this afternoon about another

portrait, not less historical. When I was visiting Charleston, South Carolina, a few years ago, on my way from Florida, I saw in the Charleston City Hall a full-length portrait of WASHINGTON, and learned on inquiry that it was an original portrait by Trumbull. It was in a deplorable condition, and seemed almost beyond the hope of restoration. After some conference and correspondence with the Mayor at that time, and afterward with his successor, Mr. Courtenay, the portrait was sent to Boston and committed to my care, for such treatment as should be thought prudent by the experts in such cases. After much consultation with General Charles G. Loring, the Curator of our Museum of Fine Arts, it was given into the hands of Messrs. Doll & Richards, who found it necessary to send it to New York for restoration. It has at last been returned to Boston, in as perfect a condition as possible, and may be seen at our Museum of Fine Arts. As the City Hall of Charleston is undergoing repairs, I have been requested to keep the portrait here for some months.

It is a portrait of great interest, and well worth visiting. The restoration has been accomplished with great skill, and the face fortunately required nothing but cleaning. It bears date, 1791, three years before Stuart painted his earliest portrait of Washington; and it represents Washington as a younger man than when he sat to Stuart. Trumbull, having been one of his *aides-de-camp*, was familiar with his form and features. An account of the portrait is found in the "Reminiscences of Charleston," by a former Honorary Member of this Society, Charles Fraser, of that city, who was himself an artist, and who says of it as follows:—

"The picture was painted from life, and represents General Washington in his military garb, as commander-in-chief, and, as such, is an invaluable portrait. It bears date, 1791. It gives me pleasure to be able to record, as being now, perhaps, its only repository, certain contemporary testimony of the resemblance it bore to its illustrious subject. A gentleman from Charleston, who was in Philadelphia while the portrait was in progress, told me that Colonel Trumbull, anxious for its success, requested him to call often and see it, which he did, and he assured me that the likeness was excellent; and this was afterward confirmed to me by one who was then our Representative in Congress, and who, as well as the other gentleman, had frequent opportunities of seeing General Washington. A venerable lady, the relict of a Revolutionary officer, told me that she also could fully verify, from her

own individual knowledge, all that these gentlemen had said of the likeness. After this period, age and increasing cares altered the General's appearance, besides the use of false teeth; so that when Mr. Stuart painted him in 1794, in his presidential suit of black velvet, and with powdered hair, he looked like a different person."

It is certainly a great satisfaction to me to have been instrumental in saving this portrait for posterity, and in restoring it to the city of Charleston in so much of its original beauty.

I may add that a description of this portrait, with a somewhat unsuccessful heliotype, has been included in the volume of Miss E. B. Johnson, just published by Messrs. J. R. Osgood & Co., containing an exhaustive account of all the original portraits of Washington, not omitting that of which I was fortunate enough to secure a copy for our gallery, through the kindness of Lord Albemarle and the liberality of Mr. Alexander Duncan, in 1874.

The Rev. Dr. PAIGE, thanking the President for the complimentary allusion to his birthday, said that it gave him much pleasure, in reaching his eightieth anniversary, to announce that he had just completed the preparation of a History of Hardwick, his native town.

Mr. WINSOR, in behalf of Judge Advocate Asa B. Gardner, of Fort Columbus, New York Harbor, inquired if there was any detailed account of a disturbance of the peace in Boston in 1778, at which time there was a French fleet in the harbor. The Boston papers of that date contain no reference to it.

Mr. H. C. LODGE referred to an inquiry he had received from Mr. Edward J. Lowell, now in Germany, in regard to a statement made in the memoirs of the Baroness Riedesel (pp. 48, 140) about certain barbarities alleged to have been inflicted upon the wife and daughter of Captain Fenton in Boston at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. As no reference to any such treatment can be found elsewhere, it is believed that the story was a falsehood.

The PRESIDENT read the following letter, containing inquiries, from our Corresponding Member, Dr. Moore, of the Lenox Library, New York:—

LENOX LIBRARY, NEW YORK, March 8, 1882.

... I have discovered an item in American medical history which appears to have escaped attention hitherto, and may interest our friend

the Mayor, or Dr. Holmes, or others among the brethren of the Massachusetts Historical Society, some of whom, I trust, will bring out from long obscurity the name of that "certain gentleman of the town of Boston," whose liberal purpose, fruitless as it seems to have been at the time, justly entitles him to honor at the hands of every disciple of Æsculapius as the first promoter of medical education in America, and whose record adds another to the cabinet of "first things" which are among the historic glories of Boston.

In the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, on the 7th of July, 1739:—

"Information being given to the House by the member from Worcester that a certain gentleman of the town of Boston [was] well disposed for the encouragement and support of a professor of physick within this Province, and for that good purpose would cheerfully contribute out of his own estate a considerable sum of money, provided this Court will join therein in making a grant of lands, or otherwise establish a good fund for the valuable ends aforesaid; and the same being considered;

"*Ordered*, That the members of Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, and Chelsea be a committee to treat with the said gentleman, hear him on his proposals, and report their opinion of what may be proper to be done for the encouragement of so good a scheme." (Journal, H. of R., July 7, 1739, p. 101.)

The member for Worcester was John Chandler, Esq.,—the Colonel Chandler who was prominent for several successive years in the House. I have been unable to find any report or further action on the subject by the General Court, but with the materials at command in the Society I will not doubt the success of some research in Boston by any who may be interested.

In referring this topic to our associates in the Society, I am reminded also of my desire to know if any of the brethren can identify what must have been widely known in the early annals of New England as the "Long March," or the "Hungry March." I have met with references to it, and suppose it to have been as early as the Narragansett War, but should be glad to be instructed with authority on the point.

I regret to have lost the opportunity of seeing you here, but with all good wishes for your voyage and safe return, remain,

Yours very sincerely,

GEORGE H. MOORE.

TO MR. WINTHROP.

Mr. THEODORE LYMAN asked leave to offer one or two emendations to the interesting account of the Garrison mob given by Mr. Ellis Ames in vol. xviii. of the Society's Proceedings, at pages 340 to 344.

Mr. Ames states that the Mayor could not speak with a loud voice because he "was very small around his chest and across his breast" (p. 341). As a fact, Mayor Lyman was nearly six feet tall, and was well proportioned and active. His voice was decidedly strong. Mr. Ames goes on to describe how he climbed upon a window-sill at the *north* side of the Old State House, and how he "saw Garrison appear on the north side of the street," and "come across State Street and go up the [north] steps, . . . and into the Old State House." Mr. Ames doubtless mistook some other person for Mr. Garrison, who, as is well known, was dragged by the mob, with a rope around his body, from Wilson's Lane and across the lower or east end of the building. At that point Mayor Lyman with his constables rescued him and carried him into the south door of the Old State House.

Arthur B. Ellis, Esq., LL.B., of Boston, and the Hon. Henry Morris, LL.D., of Springfield, were elected Resident Members.

The Rev. Dr. DEXTER presented the Memoir of the Rev. George Punchard, which he had been appointed to prepare for the Society's Proceedings.*

Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS announced that the first two volumes of the revised edition of the Sewall Papers were ready; also that a new edition of the Belknap Papers, with an appendix containing twenty-three additional letters of Dr. Belknap, had been printed.

Voted, That members be entitled to receive copies of these revised volumes.

The following committees were appointed in view of the approaching Annual Meeting; — to nominate a list of officers for the ensuing year, Messrs. Chase, Foote, and Warren; to examine the Treasurer's accounts, Messrs. Chase, A. Lawrence, and Lyman.

Agreeably to the recommendation of the Council, the President appointed also two committees on new volumes of the Collections; viz:—

Messrs. Lodge, Morse, and Haynes to prepare and publish a volume of selections from the Pickering Papers; Messrs. Winsor, G. Dexter, and Jenks to publish the Trumbull Papers.

* See below, p. 262. — Eds.

The Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER exhibited a spur and a cannon ball recently dug up in Lexington in localities which leave little doubt that they are relics of April 19, 1775.

Dr. ELLIS spoke of the increase in number and importance of societies having for their object the promotion of antiquarian or archæological research, and expressed a doubt whether their multiplication might not result in too great scattering of labor and dispersion of funds.

Professor HAYNES justified the organization of the Archæological Institute of America on the ground that there was a very wide field in this department yet uncultivated, and claimed that the expeditions to Mexico, New Mexico, and Assos proved the richness of the returns which would reward such explorations.

Mr. ELLIS AMES stated that in examining files in the preparation of the collection of Provincial Laws, his colleague, Mr. Goodell, had found a paper written Jan. 30, 1792, in the hand of Robert Treat Paine, and signed by him and Increase Sumner as memorialists to the General Court with regard to an indictment brought against them for travelling on the Lord's Day, July 10, 1791, between Portland and Pownalborough, the plea of the memorialists being that the journey was a necessary one in order that as justices of the Supreme Judicial Court they might reach the latter place in season to open the court at the appointed time. It was necessary at that time for the judges to open the court on the day set, otherwise the term could not be held until the next date prescribed by law; in this instance, the second Tuesday of July of the following year. This rule was changed by the statute of 1804 (chapter 105, § 8), which empowered the sheriff of the county to adjourn the court from day to day until a judge should attend; and if more than one judge was required, the one who arrived first had power to adjourn from day to day until a sufficient number attended. On March 8, 1792, the General Court repealed the Lord's Day act then in force, declaring it null and void, and passed a new act on that subject. This repeal annulled the indictment against the judges.

To the honorable the Senate, and to the honorable the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled, this thirtieth day of January, Anno Domini, 1792:—

Humbly show Robert Treat Paine and Increase Sumner, two of the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, that on the morning of the

tenth day of July last, being Lord's Day, they, in company with Judge Cushing,* the Attorney-General, and the Clerk of the Court, set out very early from Portland in order to arrive at Pownelborough [now Wiscasset] in season to open the court there on the Tuesday following (the court at Portland not having finished till late the afternoon before); that about eleven o'clock A. M. they passed through Freeport, and were there stopped by a warden for travelling on the Lord's Day; that it was then fully and repeatedly explained to the said warden that the company thus travelling were the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, the Attorney-General, and the Clerk of the Court, and that it was necessary they should thus travel in order to arrive in season at Pownelborough to hold court there; that the time was short enough if the weather should continue good; and that if bad weather should arrive, or accidents take place, the court might fall through; and your memorialists considered this as a full and satisfactory answer to the warden, and proceeded on their journey; and with industry and difficulty arrived at Pownelborough the end of the afternoon of the Monday then next, and held court there the next day, according to law; notwithstanding this your memorialists have been unquestionably informed that, at the County General Sessions† held at New Gloucester, in and for the County of Cumberland, on the first Tuesday of January, 1792, complaint was made to the grand jury of the Sessions of the said travelling, as being against the law of the Commonwealth, and that they found bills against your memorialists for the same.

Your memorialists beg leave to say, that if they could suppose they had broken the said law by their said conduct, they would readily make suitable acknowledgments, pay the fine, and not trouble your honors with this representation; but being certain that they had no intention of breaking the law, and had no suspicion that they were so doing, and being well satisfied that they did not break the said law, according to the true intent and meaning of it, they think it their duty to have this cause explained and settled in a manner that will give the most satisfaction to all parties, and to the government at large. Your memorialists, therefore, beg leave to observe that the law for the due observation of the Lord's Day forbids travelling on that day, except in cases of necessity and charity; and the fine question that naturally arises here is, who is to be the judge of this necessity? The answer is conceived to be, that the traveller in the first instance must judge of the necessity. The next question is, what rules has he to judge by?

* This was Nathan Cushing of Scituate, who graduated from Harvard College in 1763, and was raised to the bench in 1790, soon after the appointment of his cousin, Chief Justice William Cushing, to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. He seems not to have been indicted by the Court of Quarter Sessions for this breach of the Lord's Day act. He died in 1812.—E. A.

† This court of General Sessions, commonly called the Quarter Sessions, was deprived of its criminal jurisdiction by the act of March 9, 1804, which jurisdiction was transferred to the Court of Common Pleas. The Quarter Sessions became thereafter, until it was abolished, a court of very small consequence.—E. A.

It is presumed that no other answer can be given, than that it is a matter of reasonable discretion, judging on the nature of the thing. In the present case your memorialists judged it necessary for the business of the government, in the exercise of their office, to travel that day. The warden and grand jury say there was no necessity. The question now is, who may reasonably be supposed to be the best judges; or will it be said that the judges shall in no case travel, even though a court fall through? If they may travel in any given case, must not they be the judges of the propriety of the particular case; or will it be said that they must use that discretion at their peril; and if a warden complains, and they are indicted, that they must neglect the duty of their office, and travel to a distant county, to learn from a jury of the Quarter Sessions whether they exercised their discretion right, the said jury having no other rule to guide them but their own particular opinion to set up in opposition to the opinion and discretion of the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court? Your memorialists conceive that business on public service has always been considered as coming within the meaning of the exception in the law expressed by the word *necessity*, and that in their present case the said warden and grand jury, if they had exercised that candor and discretion which public officers always ought to do, could but know that the distance the judges had to travel, the uncertainty of good weather, the difficulty and precariousness of a passage by water up the Kennebec River, made it necessary that they should travel on that day to prevent the court at Pownelborough falling through, where a capital trial and much other business was pending; and the warden and grand jury must have supposed that the judges viewed it in that light or they would not have travelled on that day. Your memorialists do not mean to be considered as Sabbath-breakers; they profess as much regard to that day as the Christian religion requires, and that it is very disagreeable to them to be under such necessity of travelling, and that nothing but a sense of duty to the public in the exercise of their office induces them to it; and that having acted in this particular sincerely, according to their best discretion, they are not willing (for obvious reasons) to have the propriety of their judgment determined by the opinion (circumstanced as it may be) of a jury of the Quarter Sessions; nor can they think it very consistent with the due administration of justice that they should lay at the mercy of a warden, who, under pretence of his office, without regarding the duties of it, shall undertake to prosecute them merely to gratify his caprice. Your memorialists therefore pray that the Attorney-General may be directed to enter a *nolle prosequi* on the indictments; and because your memorialists have a sincere regard to the religious observance of the Lord's Day, according to the sentiments expressed in the preamble to the act for the due observance of it (drafted by one of them), they pray the explanation of the honorable legislative body on the said law, that so your memorialists, being satisfactorily apprised, from the highest authority, of their duty in this respect, may be able to comply with it, without running the risk of

being censured in one part of the Commonwealth for an action which in another part of it would be considered as necessary, and your memorialists as in duty bound shall ever pray.

ROBERT TREAT PAINE.
INCREASE SUMNER.

[Indorsed:] { Hon. R. T. Paine,
Increase Sumner.

Mr. Sewall, }
Mr. Jarvis, } *Committee on the Warden Act.**
Mr. Jones, }

Before putting the motion to adjourn the PRESIDENT spoke as follows:—

One word, Gentlemen, before we part this afternoon. The newspapers have already announced that I am proposing to pass the coming summer abroad. And though the newspapers are not always correct in their statements in regard to others or to myself, I am bound to say that in this case they have rightly divulged my purpose. I can say honestly, however, that I am not going to Europe again for my own pleasure, or upon any impulse of my own. When I last returned home, nearly seven years ago, I earnestly hoped and firmly believed that I had crossed the Atlantic for the last time, and it is with real reluctance that I have yielded to domestic circumstances, which have rendered another voyage desirable and even imperative. I am to embark at an early day, and this is the last meeting which I shall be in the way of attending before next October or November. It would afford me the greatest satisfaction to know that I might then return to these rooms to take my seat only as your senior Resident Member, leaving the Chair, which I have so long occupied by your favor, to some younger and worthier member. But, at all events, I trust by the blessing of a good Providence to be with you again during the next winter, and to contribute in every way in my power to the honor and welfare of a Society to which I have owed so many of the highest distinctions and privileges of my life.

* Mr. Ames sent a copy of this petition, after the meeting, to Mr. A. A. Dennett, clerk of the courts for Cumberland County, Maine, and it was published in the Portland "Advertiser" for March 21. It is there stated that the files of papers of the court of General Sessions for 1792 are lost, and that the bill cannot therefore be found. But the record of the May term at Portland that year shows that the court recommended the Commonwealth's attorney not to prosecute the presentments found against the judges.—Eds.

If, during my absence, I can be of any service to the Society, or to any of its members, in the prosecution of historical inquiries, it will give me the greatest pleasure to do so, and I beg that I may be called on without ceremony or reserve. In the mean time I offer to each one of you my cordial and affectionate good-by.

The Rev. Dr. LOTHROP, in reply, assured Mr. Winthrop that he would be accompanied across the ocean with the profound respect and affection of all his fellow-members, and their best wishes for a pleasant vacation and a safe return.

[It will be remembered that at the meeting in June, 1881, Mr. Ellis Ames made some remarks concerning a duel between General Poor, of New Hampshire, and Major Porter, of Bridgewater, in the Revolutionary War (Proceedings, vol. xviii. pp. 435, 436). Other duties prevented Mr. Ames from immediately preparing his communication for the press, and it was not received by the Publishing Committee until this time. It here follows. — EDS.]

Rev. John Porter, the first minister of the north parish of Bridgewater, now the town of Brockton, was a native of Abington, graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1736, and was ordained in the year 1738, the same year that his parish was incorporated. His wife was Mary Huntington, of Lebanon, Connecticut. He had four sons: John Porter, Jr., born in 1752, who graduated at Yale College in the class of 1770; Huntington Porter, born in the year 1755; Jonathan Porter, born in the year 1756; and Eliphalet Porter, born in the year 1758. The last three graduated together at Harvard College in the class of 1777. Huntington Porter was the minister at Rye, New Hampshire, and died in the year 1844; Jonathan was a surgeon on board a ship of war, and died at sea before the close of the Revolutionary War; and Eliphalet was settled in the ministry at Roxbury, being well remembered by many of us as the predecessor of the late Rev. George Putnam, and died in the year 1833. The father, Rev. John Porter, Sr., died in the year 1802, aged eighty-seven years.

Of course Rev. John Porter, Jr., the graduate of Yale College, with his father, attended Commencement at Harvard College in 1777, when his three brothers above named graduated; and on this occasion the honorary degree of Master of

Arts was conferred upon him, the only honorary degree conferred by Harvard College that year, as may be seen by examining the *alibi* list for 1777.

On the 5th May, 1775, sixteen days after the battle of Lexington and Concord, there was an alarm at Weymouth, which was instantly reported to many towns, when the militia of those towns marched to Weymouth. When the alarm reached North Bridgewater, on a lecture-day, May 5, 1775, John Porter, Jr., was preaching for his father, and he instantly dissolved the meeting and hastened to Weymouth armed and equipped to do a soldier's duty. After graduating at Yale College he had studied for the ministry and had preached occasionally. He also taught school, the late Joseph Sylvester, Esq., of North Bridgewater, stating to the writer many years ago that he was one of his pupils.

He was resident in North Bridgewater, now Brockton, in the year 1779, when a call was made by the Continental Congress upon the State of Massachusetts to fill up her quota of fifteen battalions in the Continental army. He (John Porter, Jr.), being then twenty-seven years of age, procured the necessary authority and recruited a company in the four parishes of Bridgewater and in Easton, and at the election of officers was chosen captain by the ballots of the privates enlisted,—as was the usage in those days,—and he and his company were mustered into the regular army. He was appointed chaplain of the regiment, but retained the command of his company. The writer has several times talked with one of the privates who enlisted in Porter's company in 1779 from Easton, and with another soldier who was in the same regiment at the time of the occurrence hereinafter mentioned, both of whom stated the manner of the performance of Porter's daily routine of duty, and spoke of him as a brave man and an efficient and enthusiastic officer. He was soon promoted to the office of major of the regiment, and in the absence of the colonel and lieutenant-colonel was for some considerable time major commanding.

One extremely hot day in August, in the year 1780, the army was on a forced march in New Jersey, and the soldiers suffered much from heat and thirst; nevertheless, as orders were pressing, the officers continued to push them forward as fast as possible. About one o'clock in the afternoon Major Porter's regiment came along to a place in the road where there were some shade trees; the men were covered with sweat and dust, and they could not resist the temptation to cast themselves down in the cooling shade and take a few

minutes' rest. Shortly after, General Poor, of Exeter, New Hampshire, who was in command of the brigade, rode up and ordered Major Porter to call up his men and proceed on their march. Major Porter issued the orders given him, but not a man started in response. But a few minutes elapsed before General Poor again rode up and ordered that the regiment move forward, at the same time bestowing upon the major commanding criticisms in the presence and hearing of the soldiers of his regiment which Major Porter considered highly offensive. Addressing General Poor, he said to him that if he himself were of equal grade and rank he should "hold him responsible" for the language he had used. General Poor instantly replied that he would waive his privilege as the superior officer, and the result was that before the end of the day he was challenged by Major Porter, which challenge General Poor promptly accepted, and the duel was fought at break of day the next morning. The seconds arranged that each should stand back to back against the other with loaded pistol in hand, that each should advance five paces, fire over the shoulder at the other when the word should be given, and that they should then advance and finish the contest with swords. At the fire General Poor fell, wounded by the ball of his adversary. Major Porter, not wounded, instantly turned and drew his sword, when the seconds interfered and stopped all further proceedings. General Poor's wound proved fatal, and he died on the 8th of September following. The affair was hushed up as much as possible, but Major Porter was not long after relieved of his command. Rev. John Porter and all his family were greatly distressed by this conduct of one so near to them, and rarely made allusion to it. Indeed, it is not supposed that it was generally known among the people of the time.

Major Porter's accomplishments as an officer were widely known, and afterward he was designated as *aide-de-camp* to accompany General Lafayette, on the return of the latter to France at the conclusion of the Revolutionary War. On his return home, Major Porter used to narrate to his friends here his introduction by General Lafayette to Louis XVI., King of France, and to his queen, Marie Antoinette. He subsequently moved to the small island of Curaçoa, in the West Indies, to engage in mercantile pursuits, where he probably died, though the time and circumstances of his decease were never known to his friends.

We are aware that Dr. Thatcher, in his military journal, describes the funeral of General Poor at Hackensack, New

Jersey, about ten miles from the place where the duel was fought, and says that General Poor died of a putrid fever. But in the Report of the Adjutant General of New Hampshire for the year ending June 1, 1866, vol. ii., note at the bottom of page 339, and again on page 340, the author uses these words about General Poor: "He died Sept. 8, 1781, in the forty-third year of his age. It was reported that he died of an attack of bilious fever, but this was not true. He was killed in a duel with a French officer, and the falsehood as to the cause of his death was promulgated as a matter of public policy. . . . The truth as to his death was not promulgated until after Lafayette's last visit to America, and is not now generally known." General Poor died Sept. 9, 1780, as accurately described in Dr. Thatcher's military journal. The 6,000 French troops which arrived under Rochambeau in the harbor of Newport on July 10, 1780, had not joined the American army in New Jersey in August, 1780, and there was not then any French officer in a position to fight the duel with General Poor, and that part of the story is erroneous.

An interesting pamphlet entitled "Exeter in 1776," by Governor Bell, of New Hampshire, gives a sketch of the life and character of General Poor, born in Andover, Massachusetts, but who settled early in Exeter. The writer inquired of Governor Bell, who made search among the relatives and descendants of General Poor, and informed him that the statement of the duel with Major Porter was correct. The particulars of this duel between General Poor and Major Porter were communicated to the writer by Deacon James Alger, a very intelligent and very considerable gentleman of Bridgewater, in the month of December, 1823. Deacon Alger was the father of Rev. Horatio Alger (H. U., 1825), who was formerly settled in Chelsea and afterward in Natick, where he died in the year 1881.

Deacon Alger died about forty years ago. He was acquainted with Rev. John Porter, Sr., and knew of the duel as a part of the history of his townspeople, and when he narrated it to the writer said that what led to his telling him the story was that he had heard a day or two before a repetition of the story from a townsman who was in the army at the time. Andrew Freeman, a colored soldier, who lived to a great age and was well known to the writer, described himself as having enlisted in Porter's company from Easton when young, and narrated the duel as occurring while he was in the service in Major Porter's regiment. Samuel Bisbee,

who died in 1845, aged eighty-eight years, a man of truth and accuracy (see "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" for January, 1850, page 100), though he did not enlist under Porter, having been earlier in the service, was in the same regiment at the time of the duel, and assured the writer that he himself heard the report of the pistols shortly after daybreak.

That Major Porter, having been a preacher, should challenge a superior officer and kill him in a duel may seem strange. But duels were a very common occurrence in the army of the Revolution, and the highest officers, even the "illustrious commander-in-chief," seem to have done nothing to check them. Major Porter was said to be very high-spirited, resembling his grandfather Huntington and his family. When he became a captain in the army he had been nine years out of college without a call to settle as a parish clergyman, a circumstance very rare in that age, and one which might lead to the supposition that the people of parishes uniformly discovered something in him unbecoming a clergyman.

Why did he study divinity and often preach before he became a soldier? He was a scholar, and would of course engage in a profession. He graduated three years earlier than Aaron Burr, and might by people of the present day have been expected to engage in the profession of the law. But undoubtedly the profession of the law did not appear in his time, especially in country places in Massachusetts, to promise much consequence beyond that of a collector or scrivener. What the importance of the legal profession was in those days is doubtless well estimated and described by Hon. George F. Hoar in his able and interesting address before the Law School of Yale College at the Commencement of the year 1881.

Chief Justices Parsons, Marshall, Gibson, and Shaw, Chancellor Kent, and Mr. Justice Story had not then appeared on the bench, and it was not until many years after that Pinkney, Dexter, Webster, Choate, and others at the bar, arguing constitutional, national, and other great legal questions, magnified the profession of the law.

Being led at first to select as a profession the office of a preacher, and failing to attain early rank in that profession, and it being also a time when many distinguished men, elated by the capture of Burgoyne, were taking military promotion, he yielded to the call of his country and entered the military service. We may not readily see how his distinction as a

commander of a regiment changed or intensified his character. Nothing is more certainly known than the freaks of regiments and brigades of the army of the Revolution in firing upon the enemy contrary to orders. In this instance the men of Porter's regiment threw themselves down in the shade without leave, for which he was not to blame; and they refused to rise upon a second command, for which also he was not to blame. His brigadier-general used offensive language to Major Porter in the presence of the soldiers of his regiment, which was the greatest insult that could have been given to an officer; and any man knows that had just such an occurrence happened in the French or English army, a duel would have ensued.

That Major Porter well understood the duelling code is shown by his address to his brigadier as his superior officer, and there he might well suppose the affair would end. Blame arises from the brigadier waiving his privilege, when no dishonor could arise to him in his making no reply. But when the brigadier, in the presence of the major's regiment, waived his privilege the major was caught, and a challenge on his part became inevitable.

MEMOIR

OF THE

REV. GEORGE PUNCHARD, A.M.

BY HENRY M. DEXTER.

GEORGE PUNCHARD was the youngest son and eleventh child of John and Kezia [Masury] Punchard of Salem, Massachusetts, where he was born June 7, 1806. His father, who was a member of the Tabernacle Church in Salem for seventy-four years, and one of its officers for nearly forty, occupied as well a conspicuous place in civil affairs, serving in important town offices, besides being a member of the General Court, a justice of the peace and of the quorum, and a judge of the Court of Sessions; and, at his death, at the venerable age of nearly ninety-four, he was mourned by the community which had so long been served by him, as one of its noblest examples of old New England virtue. He was the great-great-grandson [William, John, John, James, John] of William, who is said to have been born in the island of Jersey; and who, in 1669, married Abigail Waters of Salem.

Mr. Punchard fitted for college in his native town, partly under the instruction of General Henry K. Oliver, and graduated at Dartmouth in 1826, in the same class with, and enjoying the intimacy of, the late Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase. Immediately entering the Theological Seminary at Andover, he graduated thence in 1829, having among his classmates and special friends the late Drs. Nehemiah Adams and John S. C. Abbott. On the 11th of the following March he was ordained pastor of the Congregational church in Plymouth, New Hampshire, where he labored with distinguished ability and success until, after fourteen years of service, an affection of the throat, from which he never fully recovered, compelled him, after the fruitless search in Europe for restored health, to resign that office. He soon after united with Mr. Ferdinand Andrews, of Salem, in purchasing from the estate of Royal



Geo. P. Burdett

Porter and others the "American Traveller," then published only in weekly and semi-weekly form; and on the 1st of April following (1845), in connection with others, these gentlemen published the first number of the "Daily Evening Traveller." Eleven years subsequently Mr. Punchard sold his interest in this journal. From 1859 to 1867 he served the American Tract Society as its New England Secretary, after which he resumed an editorial position upon the "Traveller," which he retained till his death, which took place, after months of feebleness, of bronchial disease, in Boston, April 2, 1880, when he had reached the ripe age of seventy-three years, nine months, and twenty-six days. He married, July 6, 1830, Miss Williamine, daughter of William Poole of Hollis, New Hampshire, who died some three years before him, their marriage never having been blessed with children.

Whether in ministerial or secular employment, few men have ever more easily or more entirely commanded the thorough and affectionate respect of those with whom they have been brought into contact than Mr. Punchard. Scrupulously conscientious in his own deportment, he was yet always full of loving-kindness to others. It was well said of him in the "Traveller" office, that "he united the sternness of the Puritan to the mildness of the Quaker." Simple in all his tastes, and sincere in all his ways, no man ever suspected in him a tendency to turn aside, as Jerome says, "*ad superbias, pompasque mendacii.*"

While still a pastor in New Hampshire, the Ministerial Association of which he was a member had requested him to prepare an essay upon Congregationalism. Inheriting, no doubt, from his father, who had been a close, practical student of the distinguishing ecclesiastical principles of New England, a fondness for such researches, his faithful endeavor to perform the duty assigned him so disposed his mind toward the general subject as to shape his subsequent studies largely thereby. The Association requested him to publish his essay, — a suggestion which he declined, through his modest feeling that it was not worthy of such honor. The renewal of the request, however, led him to rewrite his paper, and preach it, in substance, to the people of his charge. Their urgency, added to that of his ministerial brethren, overcame his diffidence, and led him to revise and enlarge and fortify what he had written, and to have it printed at Salem in 1840, as an unassuming 12mo of two hundred and twenty-eight pages, entitled, "A View of Congregationalism," &c. This found such favor that it was three times reissued, immediately tak-

ing a place in the judgment of Congregationalists as an authority, which it has never ceased to hold.

His plough having been yoked in this field, he was tempted to try furrows in the new ground of Congregational history, and the next year (1841) printed, also at Salem, another 12mo, — this time of three hundred and eighty-eight pages, — entitled, “History of Congregationalism from about A. D. 250 to A. D. 1616.” To the revision, expansion, and continuation of this he devoted most of the leisure of his remaining life; in 1865 beginning its greatly enlarged reprint by the issue of two stout volumes, with the general title so altered as to carry the narrative down to the present time. Volume third was issued in 1867, and a fourth and fifth have been completed and published from his manuscripts by the Rev. George B. Jewett, his literary executor, since his death. This history was the great and crowning endeavor of his life, and the affectionate assiduity with which he wrought upon it is worthy of all praise. It is by far the most symmetrical, accurate, and complete work of the kind in our language. If it lack something of the original research of Dr. Waddington’s stouter volumes, it excels them in method, in accuracy of detail, and carefulness of statement, and, above all, in gentleness and propriety of spirit; while, so far as the record touches our New England shores, the American is immeasurably superior in both knowledge and judgment. Had Mr. Punchard lived still further to revise some portions of his History in view of the latest discoveries of the *primordia rerum Separativorum*, he would have left it little likely to be disturbed by further research, and in most points might safely have challenged the criticism of the future. As it is, his life-work cannot but contribute largely and usefully to the increased intelligence of the churches whose beginnings it portrays, whose principles it elucidates, and whose practice it is calculated safely to guide; while it will hand down his name and fame to an ever-widening and, let us hope, a grateful posterity.

Mr. Punchard was elected a Resident Member of this Society at the December meeting of 1870.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1882.

The Annual Meeting was held at the Society's rooms, in Tremont Street, Boston, on Thursday, the thirteenth day of April, at 2 o'clock P. M. In the absence of the President, who had sailed for Europe on the 29th of March, the senior Vice-President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, occupied the chair.

The Recording Secretary *pro tempore* read the record of the previous meeting, and it was accepted.

The Librarian made the regular report of the donations to the Library during the month.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters accepting membership from Mr. Arthur B. Ellis and Professor John R. Seeley.

Mr. WINSOR offered the following order, which was referred to the Council with full powers: —

Ordered, That the Treasurer be requested to report to the Society, for printing in its Proceedings, a succinct historical sketch of the Society, which can also be annexed to the pamphlet containing the Act of Incorporation and By-laws, — the same to be sent to new members on their election.*

The Rev. Mr. PORTER read a letter and covenant by the St. Botolph Club of this city, in reference to the silver-gilt "loving cup" presented by Dr. Ellis: —

THE ST. BOTOLPH CLUB, 85 BOYLSTON STREET, BOSTON,
March 29, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR, — At a meeting of the St. Botolph Club, held on Saturday, 25th instant, it was

"*Voted*, That the President of the Club be, and he is hereby, authorized to execute in the name of the Club a declaration and covenant in acceptance of the gift of the Rev. George E. Ellis, the same to be duly entered on these records, and that a copy of said declaration and covenant, together with a copy of this vote, certified by the Secretary of the Club, be transmitted to the Massachusetts Historical Society through its Recording Secretary."

The gift referred to above is a silver-gilt loving cup, formerly the property of the Corporation of Boston, England. Fuller particu-

* The Council, at their meeting in June, adopted this order. — Eds.

lars regarding it, and the conditions upon which it is now held by this Club, appear in the covenant, a certified copy of which is herewith enclosed.

Yours faithfully,

T. R. SULLIVAN,
Secretary of the St. Botolph Club.

The Recording Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

THE ST. BOTOLPH CLUB, 85 BOYLSTON STREET, BOSTON.

Whereas, George E. Ellis, of Boston, has given to this Club, as appears by his letter of Feb. 22, 1882, entered on these records, a silver-gilt cup with cover, inscribed with the crest and coat-of-arms of the Corporation of Boston, Lincolnshire, England, and with the name and date as follows: "Richard Bell, Mayor, 1745"; and has prescribed as a condition of the bestowal and acceptance of said gift the following covenant, to be entered on the records of the Club:—

That, if ever the Club shall be disbanded, or its assets dispersed, the cup shall revert to the Massachusetts Historical Society; and further, *That* a certified copy of said covenant shall be sent to the Recording Secretary of said Society.

Now therefore, in acceptance of said gift, and in compliance with the conditions thereto annexed, it is hereby declared, covenanted, and agreed, that this Club receives and holds said gift in acceptance of and compliance with the conditions aforesaid, to the performance of which it hereby binds itself, its representatives, and successors.

In witness whereof it has caused these presents to be signed by its President, thereto duly authorized, this twenty-fifth day of March, A. D. 1882.

[Signed]

FRANCIS PARKMAN,
President St. Botolph Club.

Attest:

T. R. SULLIVAN, *Secretary.*

The VICE-PRESIDENT then announced the death of Mr. Longfellow, as follows:—

Much to our regret we miss our honored President from his chair to-day, on this, the ninety-first annual meeting of the Society. It is gratifying to be assured that he has safely reached the other side of the ocean, and may be looked for with us again early in the autumn. It will be remembered that in opening the last meeting he expressed for us all the relief which he found in not being called upon, as in such rapid and melancholy succession he had been at so many previous meetings, to announce a loss from our limited roll of associates. But again must there be stricken from it the name of one who leaves upon the list no other so enshrined

in the affection, the grateful homage, we may even say the venerated regard of the world-wide fellowship of civilized humanity.

On the announcement to our deeply moved community of the death of Mr. Longfellow, though I had taken leave of Mr. Winthrop near the eve of his departure, I wrote to him asking that he would commit to me, to be read here and now, what he would himself have said if he were to be with us to-day. In his brief note of reply he writes, "How gladly would I comply with your suggestion, and send you, for the next meeting of our Society, some little tribute to our lamented Longfellow. But at this last hurried moment before leaving home, I could do justice neither to him nor to myself. I was just going out to bid him good-by, when his serious illness was announced, and in a day or two more all was over. The last time he was in Europe I was there with him, and I was a witness to not a few of the honors which he received from high and low. I remember particularly that when we were coming away from the House of Lords together, where we had been hearing a fine speech from his friend the Duke of Argyll, a group of the common people gathered around our carriage, calling him by name, begging to touch his hand, and at least one of them reciting aloud one of his most familiar poems. No poet of our day has touched the common heart like Longfellow. The simplicity and purity of his style were a part of his own character. He had nothing of that irritability which is one of the proverbial elements of the poetic temperament, but was always genial, generous, lovely." I will not attempt to add anything, as tribute, to that heart utterance from our President. Indeed, it would be difficult to find variations in the terms of language even, much more in the sentiments to be expressed by them, in tributes of tender and appreciative regard and affection for Mr. Longfellow. Full and profound in depth and earnestness have been the honors to him in speech and print; richer still, because unutterable, and only for the privacy of those who cherish them, are the responsive silences of the heart.

It is fitting, however, that we put on record our recognition of Mr. Longfellow in his relations to this Society. He accepted the membership to which he had been elected in December, 1857. Those who were associates in it twenty-five years ago will recall two signal occasions delightfully associated with his presence and speech. The one was a special meeting, to which he invited the Society at his own residence, as Washington's head-quarters, in Cambridge, on

June 17, 1858. There was much of charming and instructive interest in the scenes and associations of the occasion, added to the communications made by several members full of historic information freshly related from original sources. The host himself was silent, save as by his genial greeting and warm hospitality he welcomed his grateful guests. The other marked occasion was also at a special meeting of the Society, held in December, 1859, at the house of our associate, Mr. Sears. The meeting was devoted to tributes of respect and affection for Washington Irving, from many who had shared his most intimate friendship. Mr. Longfellow gave hearty and delicate expression to his regard for Irving, while Everett, Felton, Colonel Aspinwall, G. Sumner, and Dr. Holmes contributed their offerings to the memory of that admired author. But few of our associates, in its nearly a century of years, can have studied our local and even national history more sedulously than did Mr. Longfellow. And but fewer still among us can have found in its stern and rugged and homely actors and annals so much that could be graced and softened by rich and delicate fancies, by refining sentiments, and the hues and fragrance of simple poetry. He took the saddest of our New England tragedies, and the sweetest of its rural home scenes, the wayside inn, the alarum of war, the Indian legend, and the hanging of the crane in the modest household, and his genius has invested them with enduring charms and morals. Wise and gentle was the heart which could thus find melodies for the harp, the lyre, and the plectrum in our fields and wildernesses, wreathing them as nature does the thickets and stumps of the forest with flowers and mosses. While all his utterances came from a pure, a tender, and a devout heart, addressing themselves to what is of like in other hearts, there is not in them a line of morbidity, of depression, or melancholy, but only that which quickens and cheers with robust resolve and courage, with peace and aspiring trust. He has, indeed, used freely the poet's license in playful freedom with dates and facts. But the scenes and incidents and personages which most need a softening and refining touch, receive it from him without prejudice to the service of sober history.

Dr. ELLIS closed his remarks by offering the following Resolution:—

Resolved, That in yielding from our roll the name of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, we would put on our records the

expression of our profoundest regard, esteem, and admiring appreciation of his character and genius, and our grateful sense of the honor and satisfaction we have shared in his companionship.

The Resolution was seconded by Dr. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, who addressed the Society with much feeling, as follows:—

It is with no vain lamentations, but rather with profound gratitude that we follow the soul of our much-loved and long-loved poet beyond the confines of the world he helped so largely to make beautiful. We could have wished to keep him longer, but at least we were spared witnessing the inevitable shadows of an old age protracted too far beyond its natural limits. From the first notes of his fluent and harmonious song to the last, which comes to us as the "voice fell like a falling star," there has never been a discord. The music of the mountain stream, in the poem which reaches us from the other shore of being, is as clear and sweet as the melodies of the youthful and middle periods of his minstrelsy. It has been a fully rounded life, beginning early with large promise, equalling every anticipation in its maturity, fertile and beautiful to its close in the ripeness of its well-filled years.

Until the silence fell upon us we did not entirely appreciate how largely his voice was repeated in the echoes of our own hearts. The affluence of his production so accustomed us to look for a poem from him at short intervals that we could hardly feel how precious that was which was so abundant. Not, of course, that every single poem reached the standard of the highest among them all. That could not be in Homer's time, and mortals must occasionally nod now as then. But the hand of the artist shows itself unmistakably in everything which left his desk. The O of Giotto could not help being a perfect round, and the verse of Longfellow is always perfect in construction.

He worked in that simple and natural way which characterizes the master. But it is one thing to be simple through poverty of intellect, and another thing to be simple by repression of all redundancy and overstatement; one thing to be natural through ignorance of all rules, and another to have made a second nature out of the sovereign rules of art. In respect of this simplicity and naturalness, his style is in strong contrast to that of many writers of our time. There is no

straining for effect, there is no torturing of rhythm for novel patterns, no wearisome iteration of petted words, no inelegant clipping of syllables to meet the exigencies of a verse; no affected archaism, rarely any liberty taken with language, unless it may be in the form of a few words in the translation of Dante. I will not except from these remarks the singular and original form which he gave to his poem of "Hiawatha," — a poem with a curious history in many respects. Suddenly and immensely popular in this country, greatly admired by many foreign critics, imitated with perfect ease by any clever schoolboy, serving as a model for metrical advertisements, made fun of, sneered at, abused, admired, but, at any rate, a picture full of pleasing fancies and melodious cadences. The very names are jewels which the most fastidious muse might be proud to wear. Coming from the realm of the Androscoggin and of Moosetukmaguntuk, how could he have found two such delicious names as Hiawatha and Minnehaha? The eight-syllable trochaic verse of "Hiawatha," like the eight-syllable iambic verse of "The Lady of the Lake," and others of Scott's poems, has a fatal facility, which I have elsewhere endeavored to explain on physiological principles. The recital of each line uses up the air of one natural expiration, so that we read, as we naturally do, eighteen or twenty lines in a minute, without disturbing the normal rhythm of breathing, which is also eighteen or twenty breaths to the minute. The standing objection to this is, that it makes the octo-syllabic verse too easy writing and too slipshod reading. Yet in this most frequently criticised composition the poet has shown a subtle sense of the requirements of his simple story of a primitive race, in choosing the most fluid of measures, that lets the thought run through it in easy sing-song, such as oral tradition would be sure to find on the lips of the story-tellers of the wigwam. Although Longfellow was not fond of metrical contortions and acrobatic achievements, he well knew the effects of skilful variation in the forms of verse and well-managed refrains or repetitions. In one of his very earliest poems, — "Pleasant it was when Woods were Green," — the dropping a syllable from the last line is an agreeable surprise to the ear, expecting only the common monotony of scrupulously balanced lines. In "Excelsior" the repetition of the aspiring exclamation which gives its name to the poem, lifts every stanza a step higher than the one which preceded it. In the "Old Clock on the Stair," the solemn words, "Forever, never, never, forever," give wonderful effectiveness to that most impressive poem.

All his art, all his learning, all his melody, cannot account for his extraordinary popularity, not only among his own countrymen and those who in other lands speak the language in which he wrote, but in foreign realms, where he could only be read through the ground glass of a translation. It was in his choice of subjects that one source of the public favor with which his writings, more especially his poems, were received, obviously lay. A poem, to be widely popular, must deal with thoughts and emotions that belong to common, not exceptional character, conditions, interests. The most popular of all books are those which meet the spiritual needs of mankind most powerfully, such works as "The Imitation of Christ" and "Pilgrim's Progress." I suppose if the great multitude of readers were to render a decision as to which of Longfellow's poems they most valued, the "Psalm of Life" would command the largest number. This is a brief homily enforcing the great truths of duty, and of our relation to the unseen world. Next in order would very probably come "Excelsior," a poem that springs upward like a flame and carries the soul up with it in its aspiration for the unattainable ideal. If this sounds like a trumpet-call to the fiery energies of youth, not less does the still small voice of that most sweet and tender poem, "Resignation," appeal to the sensibilities of those who have lived long enough to have known the bitterness of such a bereavement as that out of which grew the poem. Or take a poem before referred to, "The Old Clock on the Stair," and in it we find the history of innumerable households told in relating the history of one, and the solemn burden of the song repeats itself to thousands of listening readers, as if the beat of the pendulum were throbbing at the head of every staircase. Such poems as these — and there are many more of not unlike character — are the foundation of that universal acceptance his writings obtain among all classes. But for these appeals to universal sentiment, his readers would have been confined to a comparatively small circle of educated and refined readers. There are thousands and tens of thousands who are familiar with what we might call his household poems, who have never read "The Spanish Student," "The Golden Legend," "Hiawatha," or even "Evangeline." Again, ask the first schoolboy you meet which of Longfellow's poems he likes best, and he will be very likely to answer, "Paul Revere's Ride." When he is a few years older he might perhaps say, "The Building of the Ship," that admirably constructed poem, beginning with the literal description, passing into the higher region of sentiment by the most natural of transitions, and ending with the noble climax, —

"Thou, too, sail on, O ship of state,"

which has become the classical expression of patriotic emotion.

Nothing lasts like a coin and a lyric. Long after the dwellings of men have disappeared, when their temples are in ruins and all their works of art are shattered, the ploughman strikes an earthen vessel holding the golden and silver disks, on which the features of a dead monarch, with emblems, it may be, betraying the beliefs or the manners, the rudeness or the finish of art and all which this implies, survive an extinct civilization. Pope has expressed this with his usual Horatian felicity, in the letter to Addison, on the publication of his little "Treatise on Coins," —

"A small Euphrates through the piece is rolled,
And little eagles wave their wings in gold."

Conquerors and conquered sink in common oblivion; triumphal arches, pageants the world wonders at, all that trumpeted itself as destined to an earthly immortality, pass away; the victor of a hundred battles is dust; the parchments or papyrus on which his deeds were written are shrivelled and decayed and gone, —

"And all his triumphs shrink into a coin."

So it is with a lyric poem. One happy utterance of some emotion or expression, which comes home to all, may keep a name remembered when the race to which the singer belonged is lost sight of. The cradle-song of Danaë to her infant as they tossed on the waves in the imprisoning chest, has made the name of Simonides immortal. Our own English literature abounds with instances which illustrate the same fact so far as the experience of a few generations extends. And I think we may venture to say that some of the shorter poems of Longfellow must surely reach a remote posterity, and be considered then, as now, ornaments to English literature. We may compare them with the best short poems of the language without fearing that they will suffer. Scott, cheerful, wholesome, unreflective, should be read in the open air; Byron, the poet of malcontents and cynics, in a prison cell; Burns, generous, impassioned, manly, social, in the tavern hall; Moore, elegant, fastidious, full of melody, scented with the volatile perfume of the Eastern gardens, in which his fancy revelled, is pre-eminently the poet of the drawing-room and the piano; Longfellow, thoughtful, musical, home-loving, busy with the lessons of life, which he was ever studying, and loved to teach

others, finds his charmed circle of listeners by the fireside. His songs, which we might almost call sacred ones, rarely if ever get into the hymn-books. They are too broadly human to suit the specialized tastes of the sects, which often think more of their differences from each other than of the common ground on which they can agree. Shall we think less of our poet because he so frequently aimed in his verse not simply to please, but also to impress some elevating thought on the minds of his readers? The Psalms of King David are burning with religious devotion and full of weighty counsel, but they are not less valued, certainly, than the poems of Omar Khayam, which cannot be accused of too great a tendency to find a useful lesson in their subject. Dennis, the famous critic, found fault with the "Rape of the Lock" because it had no moral. It is not necessary that a poem should carry a moral, any more than that a picture of a Madonna should always be an altar-piece. The poet himself is the best judge of that in each particular case. In that charming little poem of Wordsworth's, ending, —

" And then my heart with rapture thrills
And dances with the daffodils."

we do not ask for anything more than the record of the impression which is told so simply, and which justifies itself by the way in which it is told. But who does not feel with the poet that the touching story, "Hartleap Well," must have its lesson brought out distinctly, to give a fitting close to the narrative? Who would omit those two lines? —

" Never to blend our pleasure or our pride
With sorrow of the meanest thing that lives."

No poet knew better than Longfellow how to impress a moral without seeming to preach. Didactic verse, as such, is, no doubt, a formidable visitation, but a cathedral has its lesson to teach as well as a schoolhouse. These beautiful medallions of verse which Longfellow has left us might possibly be found fault with as conveying too much useful and elevating truth in their legends; having the unartistic aim of being serviceable as well as delighting by their beauty. Let us leave such comment to the critics who cannot handle a golden coin, fresh from the royal mint, without clipping its edges and stamping their own initials on its face.

Of the longer poems of our chief singer, I should not hesitate to select "Evangeline" as the masterpiece, and I think the general verdict of opinion would confirm my choice. The

German model which it follows in its measure and the character of its story was itself suggested by an earlier idyl. If Dorothea was the mother of Evangeline, Luise was the mother of Dorothea. And what a beautiful creation is the Acadian maiden! From the first line of the poem, from its first words, we read as we would float down a broad and placid river, murmuring softly against its banks, heaven over it, and the glory of the unspoiled wilderness all around, —

“ This is the forest primeval.”

The words are already as familiar as

“ *Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά.*”

OR

“ *Arma virumque cano.*”

The hexameter has been often criticised, but I do not believe any other measure could have told that lovely story with such effect, as we feel when carried along the tranquil current of these brimming, slow-moving, soul-satisfying lines. Imagine for one moment a story like this minced into octosyllabics. The poet knows better than his critics the length of step which best befits his muse.

I will not take up your time with any further remarks upon writings so well known to all. By the poem I have last mentioned, and by his lyrics, or shorter poems, I think the name of Longfellow will be longest remembered. Whatever he wrote, whether in prose or poetry, bore always the marks of the finest scholarship, the purest taste, fertile imagination, a sense of the music of words, and a skill in bringing it out of our English tongue, which hardly more than one of his contemporaries who write in that language can be said to equal.

The saying of Buffon, that the style is the man himself, or of the man himself, as some versions have it, was never truer than in the case of our beloved poet. Let us understand by style all that gives individuality to the expression of a writer; and in the subjects, the handling, the spirit and aim of his poems, we see the reflex of a personal character which made him worthy of that almost unparalleled homage which crowned his noble life. Such a funeral procession as attended him in thought to his resting-place has never joined the train of mourners that followed the hearse of a poet, — could we not say of any private citizen? And we all feel that no tribute could be too generous, too universal, to the

union of a divine gift with one of the loveliest of human characters.

Dr. Holmes was followed by Professor CHARLES E. NORTON, who said : —

I could wish that this were a silent meeting. There is no need of formal commemorative speech to-day, for all the people of the land, the whole English-speaking race, — and not they alone, — mourn our friend and poet. Never was poet so mourned, for never was poet so beloved.

There is nothing of lamentation in our mourning. He has not been untimely taken. His life was “prolonged with many years, happy and famous.” Death came to him in good season, or ever the golden bowl was broken, or the pitcher broken at the cistern. Desire had but lately failed. Life was fair to him almost to its end. On his seventy-fourth birthday, a little more than a year ago, with his family and a few friends round his dinner table, he said, “There seems to me a mistake in the order of the years: I can hardly believe that the four should not precede the seven.” But in the year that followed he experienced the pains and languor and weariness of age. There was no complaint — the sweetness of his nature was invincible.

On one of the last times that I saw him, as I entered his familiar study on a beautiful afternoon of this past winter, I said to him, “I hope this is a good day for you?” He replied, with a pleasant smile, “Ah! there are no good days now.” Happily, the evil days were not to be many.

The accord between the character and life of Mr. Longfellow and his poems was complete. His poetry touched the hearts of his readers because it was the sincere expression of his own. The sweetness, the gentleness, the grace, the purity of his verse were the image of his own soul. But beautiful and ample as this expression of himself was, it fell short of the truth. The man was more and better than the poet.

Intimate, however, as was the concord between the poet and his poetry, there was much in him to which he never gave utterance in words. He was a man of deep reserves. He kept the holy of holies within himself inviolable and secluded. Seldom does he admit his readers even to its outward precincts. The deepest experiences of life are not to be shared with any one whatsoever. “There are things of which I may not speak,” he says in one of the most personal of his poems.

" Whose hand shall dare to open and explore
Those volumes closed and clasped forevermore?
Not mine. With reverential feet I pass."

It was the felicity of Mr. Longfellow to share the sentiment and emotion of his coevals, and to succeed in giving to them their apt poetic expression. It was not by depth of thought or by original views of nature that he won his place in the world's regard; but it was by sympathy with the feelings common to good men and women everywhere, and by the simple, direct, sincere, and delicate expression of them, that he gained the affection of mankind.

He was fortunate in the time of his birth. He grew up in the morning of our republic. He shared in the cheerfulness of the early hour, in its hopefulness, its confidence. The years of his youth and early manhood coincided with an exceptional moment of national life, in which a prosperous and unembarrassed democracy was learning its own capacities, and was beginning to realize its large and novel resources; in which the order of society was still simple and humane. He became, more than any one else, the voice of this epoch of national progress, an epoch of unexampled prosperity for the masses of mankind in our new world, prosperity from which sprang a sense, more general and deeper than had ever before been felt, of human kindness and brotherhood. But, even to the prosperous, life brings its inevitable burden. Trial, sorrow, misfortune, are not to be escaped by the happiest of men. The deepest experiences of each individual are the experiences common to the whole race. And it is this double aspect of American life—its novel and happy conditions, with the genial spirit resulting from them, and, at the same time, its subjection to the old, absolute, universal laws of existence—that finds its mirror and manifestation in Longfellow's poetry.

No one can read his poetry without a conviction of the simplicity, tenderness, and humanity of the poet. And we who were his friends know how these qualities shone in his daily conversation. Praise, applause, flattery,—and no man ever was exposed to more of them,—never touched him to harm him. He walked through their flames unscathed, as Dante through the fires of purgatory. His modesty was perfect. He accepted the praise as he would have accepted any other pleasant gift,—glad of it as an expression of good-will, but without personal elation. Indeed, he had too much of it, and often in an absurd form, not to become at times weary of what

his own fame and virtues brought upon him. But his kindness did not permit him to show his weariness to those who did but burden him with their admiration. It was the penalty of his genius, and he accepted it with the pleasantest temper and a humorous resignation. Bores of all nations, especially of our own, persecuted him. His long-suffering patience was a wonder to his friends. It was, in truth, the sweetest charity. No man was ever before so kind to these moral mendicants. One day I ventured to remonstrate with him on his endurance of the persecutions of one of the worst of the class, who to lack of modesty added lack of honesty, — a wretched creature, — and when I had done, he looked at me with an amused expression, and half deprecatingly replied, "But, Charles, who would be kind to him if I were not?" It was enough. He was helped by a gift of humor, which, though seldom displayed in his poems, lighted up his talk and added a charm to his intercourse. He was the most gracious of men in his own home; he was fond of the society of his friends, and the company that gathered in his study or round his table took its tone from his own genial, liberal, cultivated, and refined nature.

"With loving breath of all the winds his name
Is blown about the world; but to his friends
A sweeter secret hides behind his fame,
And love steals shyly through the loud acclaim
To murmur a *God bless you!* and there ends."

His verse, his fame, are henceforth the precious possessions of the people whom he loved so well. They will be among the effective instruments in shaping the future character of the nation. His spirit will continue to soften, to refine, to elevate the hearts of men. He will be the beloved friend of future generations as he has been of his own. His desire will be gratified: —

"And in your life let my remembrance linger,
As something not to trouble and disturb it,
But to complete it, adding life to life.
And if at times beside the evening fire
You see my face among the other faces,
Let it not be regarded as a ghost
That haunts your house, but as a guest that loves you,
Nay, even as one of your own family,
Without whose presence there were something wanting.
I have no more to say."

Mr. WILLIAM EVERETT spoke with much force of the pre-eminent gifts of Mr. Longfellow, and, although not given to

comparisons, he could not help putting his "Ship of State" alongside of Horace's passionate burst of song beginning "O navis!" After reciting the two, Mr. Everett declared that our singer had encountered the greatest lyric poet of Rome on his own ground, and, grappling with him, had fairly thrown him.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted by a standing vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT spoke of the death of a Corresponding Member, the Hon. Zachariah Allen : —

Since our last meeting we have lost from the roll of our Corresponding Members a venerable and much-respected man, the Hon. Zachariah Allen, LL.D., of Providence. He died in his eighty-seventh year, on the 17th of last month, in the city of his birth and residence. He was born Sept. 15, 1795. He was President of the Rhode Island Historical Society; and his long and most useful life, his family connections, the strong regard cherished for his upright and attractive character, and his many distinguished public services have made him for several years to be looked upon as the most prominent historical and representative person in his State. On his mother's side he was a descendant of Gabriel Bernon, one of the most respected and distinguished of the Huguenots driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, who came to Boston in 1688, and made a settlement in this State at Oxford. Mr. Allen graduated in 1813 from Brown University, of which institution he was for very many years one of the trustees. He studied both law and medicine. His genius, his versatility of talents, his mechanical skill, and his comprehensive scientific tastes and attainments were at first given to advance the manufacturing industry and development of his prosperous State. Many ingenious, economical, and useful inventions and appliances came from his active brain, showing his scientific skill in the originating, increasing, and applying motive power in steam and other machinery. His volumes on abstract and applied science are numerous and of great practical use. He ingeniously calculated the mechanical force of the fall at Niagara as equal to seven millions of horse-power. The State, and especially the city of his birth and home, is indebted to him for very many of its most prized institutions, improvements, and public works. He was a generous adviser and benefactor of all educational, charitable, and religious efforts for all classes of the community. More than all, he

drew to himself the profoundest regard and respect, and the warmest attachment of all who knew him, and in proportion to their intimacy, for the modest elevation, dignity, and purity of his character, for his simple habits and manner of life, for his delicate, old-school courtesy and urbanity. Some of us have been privileged to see and know him in his home, which he made so genial in its hospitalities. He had a peaceful and sudden release in hardly impaired vigor, after a blameless, useful, and Christian life.

Mr. WINSOR reported, for the committee on the Trumbull Papers, that their sphere in some instances conflicted with that of another committee, appointed on the Washington Letters.

Voted, That this matter be referred to the two committees to be adjusted between themselves.

Colonel T. W. HIGGINSON presented to the Society an autograph letter from John C. Calhoun, written to Colonel Theodore Lyman of Boston, near the end of the first term of Calhoun's vice-presidency. He remarked that the letter was especially interesting, as containing a frank and full autobiographical sketch, in which Mr. Calhoun defined his political principles and described his own career, especially disavowing all sectional or local bias. It had also a peculiar interest, just at this time, from its bearing on the controversy between the partisans of Adams and of Jackson, just recalled to our attention through the admirable memoir of John Quincy Adams, by our associate, Mr. J. T. Morse, Jr. It must be remembered that at the presidential election of 1824 the electoral vote was divided between four candidates, who were arranged in the following order, namely: Messrs. Jackson (99), Adams (84), Crawford (41), and Clay (37). Mr. Calhoun, who had withdrawn from the contest for the presidency, was chosen Vice-President almost unanimously. Through the aid of Mr. Clay's supporters, Mr. Adams was chosen President by the House of Representatives at the first ballot, the vote standing thus: Adams (13 States), Jackson (7), Crawford (4). Immediately upon his inauguration, Mr. Adams made Mr. Clay his Secretary of State, and there were at once loud charges of bargains and corruption and "infamous coalition." Mr. Morse, in his Memoir, not only shows that these charges had no foundation, — which is now generally admitted, — but maintains that no man of prominence, except General Jack-

son, ever believed them. It is, however, evident from this letter that Mr. Calhoun believed them heartily; and that after being three years Vice-President under Mr. Adams, there was still a bitterness on the subject in his mind. The letter, therefore, has a bearing on one of the most important points in the political history of that period.

PENDLETON, 8 September, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—I have been favored with your kind letter of the 11th August, and have seized on the first leisure to comply with your request.

I was born in Abbeville District (or county) in this State, and received my academical education under Dr. Moses Waddel, now President of the University of Georgia. My collegiate education was received at Yale College, and my legal at Litchfield, under Judge Reeve. The year I was admitted to the bar I was elected a member of our State Legislature, where I served two sessions, when I was elected a member of Congress. I took my seat in that body in the session of 1811–12, known as the session which declared the late war against Great Britain. From that to the present day I have been in the service of the nation without interruption.

I do not intend to enter into a consideration of my motives and acts while in the public employment. Your letter does not request it, and I feel no disposition to do so; but I trust that I may be permitted to remark that two objects have incessantly occupied my attention,—to preserve the republican principles of our government in their purity, and to rear up by all the means delegated by the Constitution, and which could be exercised consistently with the first and what I consider the controlling object, our country to the highest point of prosperity and honor. In any situation and in any act I am willing that my whole life should be tested by these objects. They have controlled me throughout without bias in favor of any local or partial interest, or regard to personal advancement.

I rejoice to hear that our party, though small, are firm and active in old Massachusetts. I would feel but little interest in this great contest were it really a struggle between Mr. Adams and General Jackson simply, without involving what I deem vital principles in our system; but regarding it, as I do, as a struggle which involves the purity and duration of our system, I look on its progress with that deep interest which not to feel, with my conception of its character, would be criminal. I felt kindly disposed before the election towards both General Jackson and Mr. Adams. I thought they placed their election on fair national grounds. I had a right to calculate on the friendship of both, and as far as personal ambition could have influence, the position of Mr. Adams was more favorable to me than that of the General. I had then my reason to deplore his course, whatever may have been his motives for adopting it. I did think that considering the friendly relation between him and General Jackson, seeing that he could not

succeed without forming a coalition with one who stood in so different a relation, a coalition forming a most dangerous precedent, and which must in its consequences distract the country for years, he ought to have yielded to his more powerful rival and remained in his place with the almost certain prospect of reaching the high station which he now occupies in a manner honorable to himself and useful to the nation. He thought otherwise, and the consequences are such as we see.

I wish you success in the new paper. The talent and energy of Boston are sufficient to give a mighty influence to the press. My political reflections you will of course understand are for yourself. With sincere regard, I am, &c., &c.

J. C. CALHOUN.

T. LYMAN, Esq.

Mr. GEORGE B. CHASE, alluding to a pamphlet report of Daniel Webster's libel suit against Mayor Lyman, recently sold at auction, spoke as follows:—

The newspaper to which Mr. Calhoun wished success, in the letter just read by Colonel Higginson, was the "Jackson Republican," a campaign journal, then recently established in Boston by Theodore Lyman, Jr., and others, in aid of General Jackson's election to the presidency. A semi-weekly paper, its first number appeared Aug. 9, 1828. Its last issue, on the 28th of December in the same year, announced its union with the "Evening Bulletin," and the continuance of both journals, as one newspaper, under the title of the "United States Republican." The subsequent career of the latter journal I have not attempted to trace.

The forty-two numbers of the "Jackson Republican" have a certain interest to students of our newspaper history as the exponent of the views of those gentlemen of Federalist antecedents, whose bitter hostility to John Quincy Adams led them into a cordial support of Andrew Jackson. Conspicuous among these enemies of Mr. Adams was Mr. Theodore Lyman, Jr., afterward Mayor of Boston, in 1835, who will, however, be longest remembered by his great benevolence, and by the large sums given in his life and bequeathed in his will to public charities.* By his energy the "Jackson Republican" was established, and by his vigorous pen its columns

* Mr. Lyman had been a supporter of Crawford, and afterward of Jackson, for the Presidency. He was, at this time, the leader of the "Silk Stocking" wing of the Democratic party in Massachusetts. Dissatisfied afterward with the tendencies of Van Buren's administration, he became a Whig. See the New England Genealogical Society's "Memorial Biographies," vol. i. pp. 169-198, for a memoir of him by his son.

were constantly strengthened. Published by Putnam & Hunt, the principal direction of the paper was intrusted to Judge Henry Orne. Its brief existence would now only give it an interest to specialists in our history, were it not for an article from the pen of Mr. Lyman, designed to attack Mr. Adams.

The publication of Mr. Jefferson's historic letter to Mr. Giles, revealing the communication made by Mr. Adams to President Jefferson concerning the embargo act of 1807, and President Adams's explanation of that interview, reached Boston in the last week of October, 1828. Availing itself of the excitement these disclosures created, the "Jackson Republican" of October 29 appeared with a pungent commentary upon the conduct of Mr. Adams. That part of it which Mr. Webster unluckily thought a libel upon himself is contained in these sentences:—

"The reader will observe that Mr. Adams distinctly asserts that Harrison Gray Otis, Samuel Dexter, William Prescott, Daniel Webster, Elijah Mills, Israel Thorndike, Josiah Quincy, Benjamin Russell, John Wells, and others of the Federal party of their age and standing, were engaged in a plot to dissolve the Union and reannex New England to Great Britain, and that he possessed unequivocal evidence of that most solemn design. . . .

"We here beg to ask why Mr. Adams's statement has been withheld from the public eye more than a year; why it has been published only one fortnight before the election for President all over the country; why, for three years, he has held to his bosom, as a political counsellor, Daniel Webster, a man whom he called in his midnight denunciation a traitor in 1808. . . .

"And, as the last question, why, during the visits he has made to Boston, he always met on friendly, intimate, and social terms all the gentlemen whose names, a few years before, he placed upon a secret record in the archives of the government as traitors to their country."

Mr. Webster was at that time in Boston, and a few hours after the article appeared went to State Street, as was his wont, and stopped to see his friends, as they came upon 'change, at the office of the old Suffolk Insurance Company, then at the easterly corner of State and Congress Streets. Many of the leading merchants of those days met daily at the Suffolk; John T. Apthorp was its President; and the well-known names of Belknap, Cabot, Hubbard, Silsbee, Boott, Lyman, and others appeared in its directory. Here, it seems, some indignant supporter showed Mr. Webster the audacious commentary. Going into other offices, he was again spoken to upon the subject. Meeting Major Ben. Russell soon after, who inquired if the article did not contain a libel, Mr.

Webster replied that he should try and make it so. On the 31st of October he consulted his friends, Charles P. Curtis and Richard Fletcher, who at once wrote Putnam & Hunt, demanding the writer's name. The prompt reply, signed by Henry Orne and Theodore Lyman, Jr., gave the name of Mr. Lyman as the writer of the article specified. No explanation of the writer's intent was sought of Mr. Lyman, nor opening given for the natural and obvious explanation of his commentary, but the newspaper containing it was, ten days later, laid before the grand jury, and an indictment of singular severity obtained. The case was then pushed for trial in the Supreme Court, where it occurred before Chief Justice Parker and a jury on the 16th and 17th of December, 1828. Mr. Davis, Solicitor-General, appeared for the government; and Samuel Hubbard and Franklin Dexter, both then eminent at the bar, for the defendant. Exceeding interest was created in advance of the trial, for it seems to have been well understood that it would lead to important disclosures concerning the conduct and motives of political leaders in 1808. The scant time allowed for preparation prevented the defence from an attempt in such direction. A motion to continue the case, so as to obtain the testimony of President Adams after his return to private life in the ensuing spring, was overruled.

The substance of the evidence for the prosecution, in the words of a contemporary journal,* was that Mr. Webster came to Boston in 1816; that he knew the other persons named in the libellous publication as boys know men; that he never entered into any plot to dissolve the Union; and that he had waited twelve or more days for an explanation. The defence set up that the publication was not libellous; that the language itself, taken in connection with the accompanying evidence, would not warrant the conclusion that the publication was intended to injure Mr. Webster's reputation; that Mr. Jefferson's letter and President Adams's explanation were authentic; that Mr. Webster was in 1808 an active Federalist, earnest in opposition to the embargo, his own pamphlet on the subject being admitted.

The charge of the Chief Justice was fatal to the government's case, holding upon the first sentence above quoted that, although Mr. Adams had not distinctly asserted that the gentlemen named in the "Republican's" commentary were those engaged in an attempt to dissolve the Union, there was

* The "American Traveller," then neutral in politics.

a distinct assertion that the leaders were so engaged, and that the insertion of the names of those leaders was not unfair. Upon the second sentence the Court held that it did not charge Mr. Webster with being a traitor, but that Mr. Adams had called him one; and upon the third sentence, why Mr. Adams had always met in friendly intercourse the men whose names he had placed upon a secret record as traitors to their country, that the true effect and purport of the "Republican's" comment, and the sense in which it would be taken by intelligent readers, was to show the extreme injustice of Mr. Adams's accusation against the Federal party.

The jury were out but two hours and a half, when the foreman reported that they could not agree. Chief Justice Parker at once dismissed them, doubtless glad that he could in this way terminate an action which, as he had plainly intimated from the bench, should never have been brought into court. Throughout the trial eager crowds filled the heated court room, yet it is related of the Solicitor-General that, in closing for the government, he stood wrapped in his heavy cloak in the very centre of the room, and addressed the jury for three long hours.

Mr. Webster doubtless soon saw that he had been hasty and overbearing at the outset, had been perhaps persuaded to take offence where none was intended, and, by seeking the grand jury and contemptuously refusing to have any communication with the writer of the article after his name had been promptly furnished him, had forfeited any opportunity for the somewhat superfluous explanation of the "Republican's" commentary his friends desired. We get a side light upon his own feelings after the result of the trial in President Adams's Diary. Under date of 26th January, 1829, just a month later, Mr. Adams writes:—

"Mr. Clay said he had mentioned to Mr. Webster Lyman's libel and my publication of 21st October, that Webster seemed to have no unfriendly feeling to me, but that he seemed to regret his having prosecuted Lyman."

A few years later, as Colonel Lyman informs me, Mr. Webster and his father "made it up together," and continued afterward on friendly terms. A very full report of the trial was published at the time by the printers of the "Jackson Republican," passing, such was the demand for it, to a second edition. It is now, however, rarely found. *

* See below, p. 323. — Eds.

The business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up. The reports of the Council, of the Librarian, and of the Cabinet-keeper were presented by these officers. The Treasurer's report, with that of the Auditing Committee annexed, was presented in print. These reports were severally accepted, and ordered to be printed in the Proceedings. They here follow: —

Report of the Council.

Although the various reports submitted by its officers to-day show the Society to be at the close of another year in a condition of great material prosperity, there has yet rarely been a year, if indeed there has ever been one, in which the Society has been so often called to mourn the death of a member. Eleven of our Resident Members, Hon. Charles Hudson, Charles W. Tuttle, Hon. Seth Ames, Dr. Samuel F. Haven, Rev. William Newell, Hon. John A. Lowell, Hon. Solomon Lincoln, Hon. Richard H. Dana, Delano A. Goddard, at his death Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council, Hon. Alexander H. Bullock, and Professor Henry W. Longfellow, have died during the year. All of them were honored in their lives of useful service and achievement, two of them gained a brilliant and enduring reputation in literature, while the name of the last of these two has been for more than a generation a household word, wherever people who speak our mother tongue are gathered together. The year's death-roll also contains the names of four of our Corresponding Members: Mr. John Winter Jones, late Principal Librarian of the British Museum, Dr. J. G. Holland, Rev. Leonard Bacon, and Hon. Zachariah Allen, President of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Three also of our Honorary Members have passed away within the year: Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, President of the Virginia Historical Society, who was always keenly interested in our proceedings, John Hill Burton, the historian of Scotland, and Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Dean of Westminster.

Ten Resident Members have been elected during the year: Hon. Samuel C. Cobb, Horace E. Scudder, Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, Stephen Salisbury, Jr., John T. Hassam, Rev. Alexander McKenzie, John C. Phillips, Arthur Lord, Arthur B. Ellis, and Hon. Henry Morris. The Society has chosen five Corresponding Members: Rev. Henry M. Baird, Colonel Henry B. Carrington, William Wirt Henry, Comte d'Haussonville, Prof. William F. Allen; and two Honorary Members: Hon.

E. B. Washburne, and Professor John R. Seeley, of Cambridge, England.

During the year the Society has published the Eighteenth Volume of Proceedings, and has reprinted both volumes of the Sewall Diary, both volumes of the Belknap Papers, the first editions of each of which were exhausted, and it issues to-day the third volume of the Sewall Papers.

Our faithful Treasurer, who has the sympathy of all of us in the mournful bereavement which makes his chair vacant to-day,* gives a most satisfactory report of the Society's financial condition. Six thousand dollars of the mortgage debt has been paid within the year, and the mortgage has been continued by agreement for five years at five per cent per annum. At the expiration of this time the Society will own its building nearly free of debt, and derive a substantial income from its rental.

Several events of great interest to the Society have occurred within the year. Our distinguished President, who intends to pass the summer abroad, took leave of the members a month ago. He carries with him across the ocean the affectionate regards of his associates, and their warmest wishes for his happiness and safe return.

Twice within the year, upon occasions of permanent historical interest, Mr. Winthrop has appeared in turn before the Commonwealth and the Nation as the orator of the day.

On the 17th of June last, at Bunker Hill, Mr. Winthrop delivered the oration at the unveiling of the statue of Colonel Prescott, in the presence of the descendants of the patriot, and of a great audience who had gathered for the occasion.

On the 19th of October the Centennial Anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis was celebrated at Yorktown in the presence of the Cabinet, the governors of thirteen States, many high officers, civil and military, and a large gathering from all sections of the country.

France and Germany accepted the nation's invitation to unite in the celebration, and each country sent delegations in commemoration of the signal aid furnished by the French and German officers who served in the Continental armies, and of the allied forces engaged in the capture of Yorktown. The

* Walter Allen Smith, only son of the Treasurer, died in London, April 8th. He was born in Boston, Dec. 25, 1859, graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1880, and immediately afterward went abroad to continue his studies in Germany and France. He had completed his proposed course, and was on his way home, when he was suddenly taken ill at the house of a friend in London. He was a young man of great promise.

key-note of the anniversary, so well given by Mr. Winthrop in his oration, was most happily responded to by the President, who, in a general order memorable for its dignity and the grace of its allusions, commanded the flag of the mother country to be saluted by the army and navy of the United States at the conclusion of the ceremonies.

Copies of both of these eloquent and spirited orations, gifts from Mr. Winthrop, lie upon the table.

By an interesting coincidence, well worthy to be recalled here, the orations which commemorate the centennial anniversaries of the opening and closing struggles of the Revolution were each of them productions of our Resident Members. Mr. Dana, who was the orator at Lexington seven years ago, and whose death within the last few weeks came so suddenly upon us, had long been, like Mr. Winthrop, a member of our Society.

At the request of a large number of citizens, Mr. Winthrop, before sailing for England, gave sittings for a full-length portrait, which it is the intention of the subscribers to present to Congress, for preservation upon the walls of the Capitol.

The Society has also enjoyed the further honor of seeing its Librarian, so long and so closely identified with its deliberations, elected to the honorable office of Mayor of Boston.

The Society has received from members within the year, as part of their recent productions, twenty-three pamphlets, of which seven are reprints from our Proceedings. It has also received from its Corresponding and Honorary Members copies of their own contributions to literature published since the last Annual Meeting. Among the volumes received may be mentioned, in the order in which they have come to us, "The Army under Pope," by Mr. Ropes, soon followed by another from his pen entitled, "Who Lost Waterloo?"; from Dr. Dexter, "The True Story of John Smyth, the Se-Baptist"; from Mr. A. B. Ellis the "History of the First Church"; from Mr. Foote the first volume of his "Annals of King's Chapel"; from Mr. Scudder two volumes, "Noah Webster," in the series of American Men of Letters, and "Boston Town"; "The Antietam and Fredericksburg," by General Francis W. Palfrey; Mr. Slafter's "History and Causes of Incorrect Latitudes"; Mr. Hassam's "Antiquarian and Genealogical Papers"; Mr. Sibley's second volume of "Harvard Graduates," covering the period from 1659 to 1677; Mr. Lodge's "History of the English Colonies in America"; Dr. Green's "History of Medicine in Massa-

chusetts"; and Mr. Trumbull's "Indian Names in Connecticut."

To this list may also be added, as the result of the excellent work done by two others of our number, Messrs. Whitmore and Appleton, the Record Commissioners, the publication of their seventh volume, which includes all the records of the Town of Boston from March 11, 1660-61 to March 10, 1700-1.

Under a vote of the City Council, they have also caused a new and revised edition of their Second Report to be reprinted, containing the Boston Records of 1634-60, and the Book of Possessions.

It is twenty-one years this week since the attack on Fort Sumter. The great rebellion of the Southern States is now more remote than was the struggle of the Colonies for independence when our own Society was formed. The time is already ripe for permanent histories of the great operations in the late contest, and abundant material for their preparation may be found upon our shelves. Two members of the Society, General F. W. Palfrey and Mr. Ropes, have each ably reviewed within the year some of the more important campaigns of the army of the Potomac.

Two volumes have also appeared in the valuable series of American Biographies, projected by Mr. Morse. His own independent, forceful, and most spirited "Life of John Quincy Adams" has been followed by Mr. Lodge's admirable memoir of Alexander Hamilton, now just issued from the press.

The third and fourth volumes of the "Memorial History of Boston" have been published. The speedy completion of this work, to which our members so largely contributed, is due to the unwearied efforts of its editor, Mr. Winsor, our Corresponding Secretary.

Three vacancies now exist in the list of our immediate members.

In conclusion, the Executive Committee have only to congratulate the Society upon the excellent record of work done within the past year. As much of it has come from the pens of the younger members, we may well be content, to-day, with the gratifying outlook for the Society's future success in the fields of its labor.

GEORGE B. CHASE, *Chairman.*

Boston, April 13, 1882.

Report of the Librarian.

The Librarian has the honor to submit his Annual Report. There have been added to the Library during the year: —

Books	719
Pamphlets	8,819
Unbound volumes of newspapers	7
Bound volumes of maps	2
Maps	14
Broadsides	3
Volume of manuscripts	1
Manuscripts	102
In all	<hr/> 4,667

Of the books added, 633 have been given, 79 have been bought, and 7 obtained by exchange. Of the pamphlets added, 3,597 have been given, 122 have been bought, and 100 have been received by exchange.

There are now in the Library, it is estimated, about 27,770 volumes; including files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse collection. The number of pamphlets is about 59,600.

Mr. Amos A. Lawrence has added 20 volumes, 32 pamphlets, and 10 newspapers, relating to the Great Rebellion.

There have been bought, with the income of the Savage Fund, 79 volumes, 122 pamphlets, 2 volumes of maps, and 1 single map.

During the year 140 books and 10 pamphlets have been taken from the Library, and all have been returned.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.*

Boston, April 13, 1882.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

During the past year there have been 22 donations to the Cabinet, all of which were duly noticed and recorded at or near the time of presentation.

It was hoped that the Catalogue, begun more than a year ago, would have made such progress that some portion of it could be included in the present Report; but the work is a laborious one, and still further time will be required for its completion.

The smaller engravings belonging to the Cabinet have been, for better preservation, transferred to volumes; and the Paper currency, Provincial and Revolutionary, of which there are not far from 400 specimens, has been arranged in chronological order in a separate volume.

With regard to the Cabinet generally, as has been stated in former reports, there is still an insufficiency of room for its proper display; an inconvenience, however, which will doubtless be obviated at some future time. In the mean time it is possible that something may be done even in our limited quarters to afford it more light and space, and thus give it greater attractiveness and utility.

F. E. OLIVER, *Cabinet-keeper.*

Boston, April 13, 1882.

Report of the Treasurer.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report made up to March 31, 1882.

A further reduction of the mortgage debt of the Society has been effected during the year by the payment of \$6,000, in accordance with the agreement made by the late Treasurer when the mortgage note was renewed. Arrangements have been also made for the continuance of the mortgage for a further term of five years, at the rate of five per cent per annum, and with the same right to make partial payments which we now have.

By the sale of a controlling interest in the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad Company, — in which sale the Treasurer in behalf of the Society joined, — a re-investment of a part of the Savage Fund became necessary, and the principal of that very useful fund as it stands on the books was increased to \$5,295; and there will be an increase in the income, which is, however, insufficient for the legitimate demands made on it.

The last of the life interests to which it was subject having recently terminated, the Treasurer has been informally notified that the bequest of the late William Winthrop will be paid over within the next three months. Mr. Winthrop, who was for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society, died abroad in July, 1869, and his bequest, which amounts to \$3,000, was given for the creation of a Binding Fund.

The funds held by the Treasurer are the following: —

I. THE APPLETON FUND, created Nov. 18, 1854, by the gift to the Society, from the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for \$12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. Interest, at the rate of six per cent per annum, is computed on that amount, and is chargeable on the real estate. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers." As the income was largely anticipated some years ago, only a comparatively small sum will be available from this source during the next year.

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at \$9,582.90, and, by a vote passed June 14, 1877, is to be allowed to increase until the principal and interest amount to ten thousand dollars. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society, Nov. 8, 1855; and Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income can be appropriated only in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855. Both the principal and the accumulated income, computed at the rate of six per cent per annum, are chargeable on the real estate of the Society. The limit to the accumulation of the income will be reached during the next year, and the Treasurer accordingly recommends that the excess of income over the sum of ten thousand dollars be appropriated toward the publication of the Pickering manuscripts.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by the executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to \$10,000, and is a charge on the real estate.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now amounting to \$22,123. It is invested in the seven per cent bonds of the Boston and Albany Railroad Co., and a deposit in the Suffolk Savings Bank, and the income is only available for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now standing on the books at the sum of \$5,295. It is invested in the bonds

of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad Co., and in the stock of the Boston Gas-Light Co. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, received in February, 1881. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest up to this date having been added to the principal, it now stands at \$1,068.50. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. THE GENERAL FUND, now amounting to \$3,550, which sum represents a legacy of two thousand dollars from the late Henry Harris, received in July, 1867, a legacy of one thousand dollars from the late George Bemis, received in March, 1879, three commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each, and a gift of one hundred dollars from R. W. Emerson. It is invested in a bond of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad Co., for one thousand dollars, and a bond of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad Co., also for one thousand dollars; and fifteen hundred and fifty dollars have been paid from it toward the reduction of the mortgage debt.

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

CASH ACCOUNT.

DEBITS.

1881.		
March 31.	To balance on hand	\$1,545.24
1882.		
March 31.	To receipts as follows:—	
	General Account	10,774.16
	Income of Peabody Fund	1,470.00
	Income of Savage Fund	841.00
	General Fund	400.00
		<u>\$14,530.40</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$703.02

CREDITS.

1882.		
March 31.	By payments as follows:—	
	Reduction of mortgage debt	\$6,000.00
	Income of Peabody Fund	1,054.98
	Income of Savage Fund	863.83
	Income of Appleton Fund	281.84
	General Account	6,126.78
	By balance on hand	703.02
		<u>\$14,530.40</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DEBITS.

1882.		
March 31.	To sundry payments:—	
	J. A. Henshaw, salary	\$1,200.00
	J. H. Tuttle, salary	1,000.00
	Interest on mortgage	2,400.00
	Part of cost of Sewall Papers, Vol. III.	800.00
	Printing, stationery, and postage	406.78
	Fuel and light	237.80
	Binding	7.75
	Repairs	13.08
	Care of fire, &c.	897.00
	Miscellaneous expenses	164.37
	Income of Appleton Fund	732.18
	Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	542.43
	Income of Dowse Fund	600.00
	Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund	68.50
	Sinking Fund	2,000.00
	To balance to new account	3,859.66
		<u>\$13,429.55</u>

CREDITS.

1881.		
March 31.	By balance on hand	\$2,055.39
1882.		
March 31.	By sundry receipts:—	
	Rent of Building	9,000.00
	Income of General Fund	160.00
	Interest	78.01
	Income of Dowse Fund	600.00
	Admission Fees	175.00
	Assessments	890.00
	Sales of publications	471.15
		<u>\$18,429.55</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$3,359.66

Income of Appleton Fund.

DEBITS.

1881.		
March 31.	To balance against the account	\$780.78
1882.		
March 31.	„ printing and binding Belknap Papers	281.84
		<u>\$1,012.62</u>
1882.		
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$280.44

CREDITS.

1882.		
March 31.	By one year's interest on \$12,203 principal	\$782.18
	„ balance carried forward	280.44
		<u>\$1,012.62</u>

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

DEBITS.

1882.		
March 31.	To amount carried to new account	\$6,582.90

CREDITS.

1881.		
March 31.	By amount brought forward	\$6,040.47
Sept. 1.	„ one year's interest on \$3,000 principal	180.00
	„ one year's interest on accrued interest	862.43
		<u>\$6,582.90</u>

1882.		
March 31.	By amount brought down	\$6,582.90

Income of Douse Fund.

DEBITS.

1882.		
March 31.	To amount placed to credit of General Account	\$600.00

CREDITS.

1882.		
March 31.	By one year's interest on \$10,000 principal	\$600.00

Income of Peabody Fund.

DEBITS.

1881.		
March 31.	To balance brought forward	\$743.29
1882.		
March 31.	„ amount paid for copying, printing, and binding	1,054.93
		<u>\$1,798.22</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$328.22

CREDITS.

1882.		
March 31.	By one year's interest on railroad bonds	\$1,470.00
	„ balance to new account	328.22
		<u>\$1,798.22</u>

Income of Savage Fund.

DEBITS.

1881.		
March 31.	To balance brought forward	\$76.55
1882.		
March 31.	To amount paid for books	363.83
		<u>\$440.38</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$99.88

1882.

CREDITS.

March 31.	By three quarterly dividends on gas shares	\$37.50
	" one year's interest on railroad bonds	300.00
	" difference in market value of investments	8.50
	" balance to new account	99.88
		<u>\$440.88</u>

Sinking Fund.

1882.

DEBITS.

Jan. 17.	To amount applied to reduction of mortgage	<u>\$2,000.00</u>
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1881.

CREDITS.

Oct. 1.	By amount transferred from the General Account	<u>\$2,000.00</u>
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TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

Cash	\$708.02
Real Estate	103,280.19
Investments	40,568.00
Income of Appleton Fund	280.44
Income of Savage Fund	99.88
Income of Peabody Fund	828.22
	<u>\$145,259.25</u>

CREDITS.

Notes Payable	\$33,000.00
Building Account	45,077.19
Appleton Fund	12,203.00
Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	8,000.00
Peabody Fund	22,123.00
Savage Fund	5,295.00
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund	1,068.50
General Fund	3,550.00
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	6,582.90
General Account	3,859.66
	<u>\$145,259.25</u>

The real estate is subject to the following incumbrances,—the balance of the mortgage note (\$33,000), the principal of the Appleton Fund (\$12,203), of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund (\$3,000), of the Dowse Fund (\$10,000), and of the Erastus B. Bigelow Fund (\$1,068.50), a part of the principal of the General Fund (\$1,550), and the accumu-

lated income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund (\$6,582.90), making in the aggregate, \$67,404.40, against \$71,393.47 last year.

CHARLES C. SMITH,
Treasurer.

Boston, March 31, 1882.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1882, have attended to their duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by him for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

GEORGE B. CHASE, }
THEODORE LYMAN, } *Committee.*

Boston, April 11, 1882.

Mr. CHASE, from the Committee to nominate a list of officers for the ensuing year, reported the following list, and the gentlemen named were duly elected:—

President.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D. BOSTON.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

Recording Secretary.

GEORGE DEXTER, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

Corresponding Secretary.

JUSTIN WINSOR, A.B. CAMBRIDGE.

Treasurer.

CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq. BOSTON.

Librarian.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, M.D. BOSTON.

Executive Committee of the Council.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, PH.D.	NAHANT.
REV. PHILLIPS BROOKS, D.D.	BOSTON.
HENRY W. HAYNES, A.M.	BOSTON.
CHARLES F. ADAMS, JR., A.B.	QUINCY.
J. ELLIOT CABOT, LL.B.	BROOKLINE.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. George B. Chase, the retiring member of the Executive Committee of the Council.

MAY MEETING, 1882.

The regular monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at 8 o'clock P.M.; the senior Vice-President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the previous meeting was read and accepted.

The Librarian read the monthly list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that Judge Morris, of Springfield, had accepted his election as a Resident Member.

The VICE-PRESIDENT then announced the death of a Resident Member, Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, as follows:—

Many of us who meet in this Library to-day are doubtless recalling vividly the memory of the impressive scene here when, fifteen months ago, Mr. Emerson, appearing among us for the last time, read his characteristic paper upon Thomas Carlyle. It was the very hour in which the remains of that remarkable man were committed to his Scotch grave. There was much to give the occasion here a deep and tender interest. We could not but feel that it was the last utterance to which we should listen from our beloved and venerated associate, if not, as it proved to be, the last of his presence among us. So we listened greedily and fondly. The paper had been lying in manuscript more than thirty years, but it had kept its freshness and fidelity. The matter of it, its tone and utterance, were singularly suggestive. Not the least of the crowding reflections with which we listened was the puzzling wonder, to some of us, as to the tie of sympathy and warm personal attachment, of nearly half a century's continuance, between the serene and gentle spirit of our poet-philosopher and the stormy and aggressive spirit of Mr. Carlyle.

There are those immediately to follow me who, with acute and appreciative minds, in closeness of intercourse and sympathy with Mr. Emerson, will interpret to you the form and significance of his genius, the richness of his fine and rare endowments, and account to you for the admiring and loving estimate of his power and influence and world-wide fame in the lofty realms of thought, with insight and vision and revealings of the central mysteries of being. They must share largely in those rare gifts of his who undertake to be the

channel of them from him to others. For it is no secret, but a free confession, that the quality, methods, and fruits of his genius are so peculiar, unique, obscure, and remote from the appreciation of a large class of those of logical, argumentative, and prosaic minds, as to invest them with the ill-understood and the inexplicable. He was signally one of those, rare in our race, in the duality of our human elementary composition, in whom the dust of the ground contributed its least proportion, while the ethereal inspiration from above contributed the greatest.

The words which I would add, prompted as in keeping with this place and occasion, shall be in reminiscence of years long past. Those whose memories are clear and strong, and who forty-five years ago in their professional, literary, or social fellowships were intent upon all that quickened thought and converse in this peculiar centre of Boston and its neighborhoods, will recall with what can hardly be other than pensive retrospects the charms and fervors, the surprises, and perhaps the shocks, certainly the bewilderment and the apprehension, which signalled the announcement here of what was called Transcendentalism. Though the word was from the first wrongfully applied, there was an aptness in its use, as in keeping with the mistiness and cloudiness of the dispensation to which it was attached. The excitement here was adjusted to the size, the composition, the tone and spirit, and the unasimulated elements of this community. The movement had the quickening zest of mystery. It was long before those who were not a part of it could reach to any intelligible idea of what it might signify, or promise, or portend. There were a score, a hundred, persons craving to have explained to them what it all meant, to each one who seemed ready or able in volunteering to throw light upon it. And this intended light was often but an adumbration. Mr. Emerson gained nothing from his interpreters. Nor does he now. The key which they offered did not fit the wards of the lock. The vagueness of the oracle seemed to be deepened when repeated by any other lips than those which gave it first utterance. In most of the recent references in the newspapers and magazines to the opening of Mr. Emerson's career in high philosophy, emphatic statements are made as to the ridicule and satire and banter evoked by the first utterances of this transcendentalism. It is not impressed upon my memory that any of this triviality was ever spent upon Mr. Emerson himself. The modest, serene, unaggressive attitude, and personal phenomena of bearing and utterance which were so winningly

characteristic of his presence and speech, as he dropped the sparkles and nuggets of his fragmentary revelations, were his ample security against all such disrespect. The fun, as I remember, was spent upon the first circle of repeaters, and so-called disciples, a small but lively company of both sexes, who seemed to patent him as their oracle, as an inner fellowship who would be the medium between him and the unilluminated. Nor was it strange that explanations, or demonstrative and argumentative expositions of the Emersonian philosophy proffered by its interpreters did not open it clearly to inquirers, inasmuch as he himself assured us that it was not to be learned or tested by old-fashioned familiar methods. I know of but one piece from his pen now in print, and dating from the first year of his publicity, in which he appears, not in self-defence under challenge, — for he never did that, — but in attempted and baffled self-exposition. Nor have lines ever been written, by himself or by his interpreters, so apt, so characteristic, so exquisitely phrased and toned, so exhaustively descriptive of the style and spirit of his philosophy as those which I will quote.

The younger Henry Ware, whose colleague he had been during his brief pastorate of a church, disturbed by something in a discourse which Mr. Emerson, after leaving the pulpit, had delivered in Cambridge in 1838, had preached in the college chapel a sermon dealing in part with a position which had startled himself and others in his friend's address, and, in part, with a breeze of excitement which it had raised in a tinderish community. The sermon being printed, Mr. Ware sent a copy of it to Mr. Emerson, with a letter, which the latter says "was right manly and noble." The letter expressed a little disturbance, puzzle, and anxiety of mind, and put some questions hinting at desired explanations and arguments.

In reply Mr. Emerson interprets himself thus: —

"If the sermon assails any doctrines of mine, — perhaps I am not so quick to see it as writers generally, — certainly I did not feel any disposition to depart from my habitual contentment, that you should say your thought whilst I say mine. I believe I must tell you what I think of my new position. It strikes me very oddly that good and wise men at Cambridge and Boston should think of raising me into an object of criticism. I have always been — from my very incapacity of methodical writing — 'a chartered libertine,' free to worship and free to rail, lucky when I could make myself understood, but never esteemed near enough to the institu-

tions and mind of society to deserve the notice of the masters of literature and religion. I have appreciated fully the advantages of my position, for I well know that there is no scholar less able or willing to be a polemic. I could not give accounts of myself if challenged. I could not possibly give you one of the 'arguments' you cruelly hint at, on which any doctrine of mine stands. For I do not know what arguments mean, in reference to any expression of a thought. I delight in telling what I think; but, if you ask me how I dare say so, or why it is so, I am the most helpless of mortal men. I do not even see that either of these questions admits of an answer. So that in the present droll posture of my affairs, when I see myself suddenly raised into the importance of a heretic, I am very uneasy when I advert to the supposed duties of such a personage, who is to make good his thesis against all comers. I certainly shall do no such thing. I shall read what you and other good men write, as I have always done, — glad when you speak my thoughts, and skipping the page that has nothing for me. I shall go on, just as before, seeing whatever I can, and telling what I see; and, I suppose, with the same fortune that has hitherto attended me, — the joy of finding that my abler and better brothers, who work with the sympathy of society, loving and beloved, do now and then unexpectedly confirm my perceptions, and find my nonsense is only their own thought in motley."

No one in comment, essay, or criticism upon Mr. Emerson has improved upon his own revealing of his philosophy of intuition, insight, eye, and thought, as distinguished from that of logic and argument. It needed some considerable lapse of time, with much wondering, questioning, and debating in this community, to clear the understanding, that the new and hopeful message brought to us was something like this, — that those who were overfed, or starved, or wearied with didactic, prosaic lessons of truth for life and conduct, through formal teaching, by reasoning, arguings, and provings, might turn to their own inner furnishings, to their thinkings as processes, not results, and to the free revealings and inspirings from without as interpreted from within.

But whatever was the baffling secret of Mr. Emerson's philosophy, there was no mystery save that to the charm and power of which we all love to yield ourselves, in the poise and repose of his placid spirit, in the grace and felicity of his utterance, in the crowding of sense and suggestiveness into his short, terse sentences, in his high reachings for all truth as its disciple, and in the persuasiveness with which he communi-

cated to others what was disclosed to him. He never answered to a challenge by apology or controversy.

At the conclusion of his address, Dr. ELLIS read the following letter from Judge Hoar:—

CONCORD, May 8, 1882.

MY DEAR DR. ELLIS,—I find that it will be out of my power to attend the meeting of the Historical Society on Thursday next, and I am sorry to lose the opportunity of hearing the tributes which its members will pay to the memory of Mr. Emerson, than whose name none more worthy of honor is found on its roll. His place in literature, as poet, philosopher, seer, and thinker, will find much more adequate statement than any which I could offer. But there are two things which the Proceedings of our Society may appropriately record concerning him, one of them likely to be lost sight of in the lustre of his later and more famous achievements, and the other of a quality so evanescent as to be preserved only by contemporary evidence and tradition.

The first relates to his address in September, 1835, at the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Concord; which seems to me to contain the most complete and exquisite picture of the origin, history, and peculiar characteristics of a New England town that has ever been produced.

The second is his *power as an orator*, rare and peculiar, and in its way unequalled among our contemporaries. Many of us can recall instances of it, and there are several prominent in my recollection; but perhaps the most striking was his address at the Burns centennial, in Boston, on the 25th of January, 1859.

The company that he addressed was a queer mixture. First, there were the Burns club,—grave, critical, and long-headed Scotchmen, jealous of the fame of their countryman, and doubtful of the capacity to appreciate him in men of other blood. There were the scholars and poets of Boston and its neighborhood, and professors and undergraduates from Harvard College. Then there were state and city officials, aldermen and common councilmen, brokers and bank directors, ministers and deacons, doctors, lawyers, and “carnal self-seekers” of every grade.

I have had the good fortune to hear many of the chief orators of our time, among them Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, Ogden Hoffman, S. S. Prentiss, William H. Seward, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, George William Curtis, some of the great preachers, and Webster, Everett, Choate, and Winthrop at their best. But I never witnessed such an effect of speech upon men as Mr. Emerson apparently then attained. It reached at once to his own definition of eloquence,—“a taking sovereign possession of the audience.” He had uttered but a few sentences before he seemed to have welded together the whole mass of discordant material and lifted them to the same

height of sympathy and passion. He excited them to smiles, to tears, to the wildest enthusiasm. His tribute to Burns is beautiful to read, perhaps the best which the occasion produced on either side of the ocean. But the clear articulation, the ringing emphasis, the musical modulation of tone and voice, the loftiness of bearing, and the radiance of his face, all made a part of the consummate charm. When he closed, the company could hardly tolerate any other speaker, though good ones were to follow.

I am confident that every one who was present on that evening would agree with me as to the splendor of that eloquence.

Very truly yours,

E. R. HOAR.

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D.,

Vice-President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Dr. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES then addressed the Society as follows:—

It is a privilege which any of us may claim, as we pass each of these last and newly raised mounds, to throw our pebble upon the cairn. For our own sakes we must be indulged in the gratification of paying our slender tribute. So soon, alas, after bidding farewell to our cherished poet to lose the earthly presence of the loftiest, the divinest of our thinkers! The language of eulogy seemed to have exhausted itself in celebrating him who was the darling of two English worlds, the singer of Acadian and Pilgrim and Indian story, of human affections and aspirations, of sweet, wholesome life from its lullaby to its requiem. And now we hardly know what measure to observe in our praises of him who was singularly averse to over-statement, who never listened approvingly to flattery when living, and whose memory asks only the white roses of truth for its funeral garlands.

The work of his life is before us all, and will have full justice done it by those who are worthy of the task and equal to its demands. But, as out of a score of photographs each gives us something of a friend's familiar face, though all taken together do not give us the whole of it, so each glimpse of reminiscence, each hint of momentary impression, may help to make a portrait which shall remind us of the original, though it is, at best, but an imperfect resemblance.

When a life so exceptional as that which has just left our earthly companionship appears in any group of our fellow-creatures, we naturally ask how such a well-recognized superiority came into being. We look for the reason of such

an existence among its antecedents, some of which we can reach, as, for instance, the characteristics of the race, the tribe, the family. The forces of innumerable generations are represented in the individual, more especially those of the last century or two. Involved with these, inextricable, insoluble, is the mystery of mysteries, the mechanism of personality. No such personality as this which was lately present with us is the outcome of cheap paternity and shallow motherhood.

I may seem to utter an Hibernian absurdity; I may recall a lively couplet which has often brought a smile at the expense of our good city; I may—I hope I shall not—offend the guardians of ancient formulæ, vigilant still as watch-dogs over the bones of their fleshless symbols, but I must be permitted to say that I believe the second birth may precede that which we consider as the first. The divine renovation which changes the half-human animal, the cave-dweller, the cannibal, into the servant of God, the friend, the benefactor, the lawgiver of his kind, may, I believe, be wrought in the race before it is incarnated in the individual. It may take many generations of chosen births to work the transformation, but what the old chemists called *cohobation* is not without its meaning for vital chemistry; life must pass through an alembic of gold or of silver many times before its current can possibly run quite clear.

A New Englander has a right to feel happy, if not proud, if he can quarter his coat-of-arms with the bands of an ancestry of clergymen. Eight generations of ministers preceded the advent of this prophet of our time. There is no better flint to strike fire from than the old nodule of Puritanism. Strike it against the steel of self-asserting civil freedom, and we get a flash and a flame such as showed our three-hilled town to the lovers of liberty all over the world. An ancestry of ministers, softened out of their old-world dogmas by the same influences which set free the colonies, is the true Brahminism of New England.

Children of the same parentage, as we well know, do not alike manifest the best qualities belonging to the race. But those of the two brothers of Ralph Waldo Emerson whom I can remember were of exceptional and superior natural endowments. Edward, next to him in order of birth, was of the highest promise, only one evidence of which was his standing at the head of his college class at graduation. I recall a tender and most impressive tribute of Mr. Everett's

to his memory, at one of our annual Phi Beta Kappa meetings. He spoke of the blow which had jarred the strings of his fine intellect and made them return a sound

“Like sweet bells jangled out of tune and harsh,”

in the saddened tones of that rich sonorous voice still thrilling in the ears of many whose hearing is dulled for all the music, all the eloquence of to-day.

Of Charles Chauncy, the youngest brother, I knew something in my college days. A beautiful, high-souled, pure, exquisitely delicate nature in a slight but finely wrought mortal frame, he was for me the very ideal of an embodied celestial intelligence. I may venture to mention a trivial circumstance, because it points to the character of his favorite reading, which was likely to be guided by the same tastes as his brother's, and may have been specially directed by him. Coming into my room one day, he took up a copy of Hazlitt's *British Poets*. He opened it to the poem of Andrew Marvell's, entitled “The Nymph Complaining for the Death of her Fawn,” which he read to me with delight irradiating his expressive features. The lines remained with me, or many of them, from that hour, —

“Had it lived long, it would have been
Lilies without, roses within.”

I felt as many have felt after being with his brother, Ralph Waldo, that I had entertained an angel visitant. The Fawn of Marvell's imagination survives in my memory as the fitting image to recall this beautiful youth; a soul glowing like the rose of morning with enthusiasm, a character white as the lilies in its purity.

Such was the family nature lived out to its full development in Ralph Waldo Emerson. Add to this the special differentiating quality, indefinable as the tone of a voice, which we should know not the less, from that of every other of articulately speaking mortals, and we have the Emerson of our recollections.

A person who by force of natural gifts is entitled to be called a personage is always a surprise in the order of appearances, sometimes, as in the case of Shakespeare, of Goethe, a marvel, if not a miracle. The new phenomenon has to be studied like the young growth that sprang up between the stones in the story of Picciola. Is it a common weed, or a plant with virtues and beauties of its own? Is it a crypto-

gam that can never flower, or shall we wait and see it blossom by and by? Is it an endogen or an exogen, — did the seed it springs from drop from a neighboring bough, or was it wafted hither on the wings of the wind from some far-off shore?

Time taught us what to make of this human growth. It was not an annual or a biennial, but a perennial; not an herbaceous plant, but a towering tree; not an oak or an elm like those around it, but rather a lofty and spreading palm, which acclimated itself out of its latitude, as the little group of Southern magnolias has done in the woods of our northern county of Essex. For Emerson's was an Asiatic mind, drawing its sustenance partly from the hard soil of our New England, partly, too, from the air that has known Himalaya and the Ganges. So impressed with this character of his mind was Mr. Burlingame, as I saw him, after his return from his mission, that he said to me, in a fushet of hyperbole, which was the overflow of a channel with a thread of truth running in it, "There are twenty thousand Ralph Waldo Emersons in China."

What could we do with this unexpected, unprovided for, unclassified, half unwelcome new-comer, who had been for a while potted, as it were, in our Unitarian cold greenhouse, but had taken to growing so fast that he was lifting off its glass roof and letting in the hailstorms? Here was a protest that outflanked the extreme left of liberalism, yet so calm and serene that its radicalism had the accents of the gospel of peace. Here was an iconoclast without a hammer, who took down our idols from their pedestals so tenderly that it seemed like an act of worship.

The scribes and pharisees made light of his oracular sayings. The lawyers could not find the witnesses to subpoena and the documents to refer to when his case came before them, and turned him over to their wives and daughters. The ministers denounced his heresies, and handled his writings as if they were packages of dynamite, and the grandmothers were as much afraid of his new teachings as old Mrs. Piozzi was of geology. We had had revolutionary orators, reformers, martyrs; it was but a few years since Abner Kneeland had been sent to jail for expressing an opinion about the great First Cause; but we had had nothing like this man, with his seraphic voice and countenance, his choice vocabulary, his refined utterance, his gentle courage, which, with a different manner, might have been called audacity, his temperate statement of opinions which threat-

ened to shake the existing order of thought like an earthquake.

His peculiarities of style and of thinking became fertile parents of mannerisms, which were fair game for ridicule as they appeared in his imitators. For one who talks like Emerson or like Carlyle soon finds himself surrounded by a crowd of walking phonographs, who mechanically reproduce his mental and vocal accents. Emerson was before long talking in the midst of a babbling Simonetta of echoes, and not unnaturally was now and then himself a mark for the small shot of criticism. He had soon reached that height in the "cold thin atmosphere" of thought where

"Vainly the fowler's eye
Might mark his distant flight to do him wrong."

I shall add a few words, of necessity almost epigrammatic, upon his work and character. He dealt with life, and life with him was not merely this particular air-breathing phase of being, but the spiritual existence which included it like a parenthesis between the two infinities. He wanted his daily draughts of oxygen like his neighbors, and was as thoroughly human as the plain people he mentions who had successively owned or thought they owned the house-lot on which he planted his hearthstone. But he was at home no less in the interstellar spaces outside of all the atmospheres. The semi-materialistic idealism of Milton was a gross and clumsy medium compared to the imponderable ether of "The Oversoul" and the unimaginable vacuum of "Brahma." He followed in the shining and daring track of the *Græius homo* of Lucretius:—

"Vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
Processit longe flammantia mœnia mundi."

It always seemed to me as if he looked at this earth very much as a visitor from another planet would look upon it. He was interested, and to some extent curious about it, but it was not the first spheroid he had been acquainted with, by any means. I have amused myself with comparing his descriptions of natural objects with those of the Angel Raphael in the seventh book of *Paradise Lost*. Emerson talks of his titmouse as Raphael talks of his emmet. Angels and poets never deal with nature after the manner of those whom we call naturalists.

To judge of him as a thinker, Emerson should have been heard as a lecturer, for his manner was an illustration of his

way of thinking. He would lose his place just as his mind would drop its thought and pick up another, twentieth cousin or no relation at all to it. This went so far at times that one could hardly tell whether he was putting together a mosaic of colored fragments, or only turning a kaleidoscope where the pieces tumbled about as they best might. It was as if he had been looking in at a cosmic peep-show, and turning from it at brief intervals to tell us what he saw. But what fragments these colored sentences were, and what pictures they often placed before us, as if we too saw them! Never has this city known such audiences as he gathered; never was such an Olympian entertainment as that which he gave them.

It is very hard to speak of Mr. Emerson's poetry; not to do it injustice, still more to do it justice. It seems to me like the robe of a monarch patched by a New England housewife. The royal tint and stuff are unmistakable, but here and there the gray worsted from the darning-needle crosses and ekes out the Tyrian purple. Few poets who have written so little in verse have dropped so many of those "jewels five words long" which fall from their setting only to be more choicely treasured. *E pluribus unum* is hardly more familiar to our ears than "He builded better than he knew," and Keats's "thing of beauty" is little better known than Emerson's "beauty is its own excuse for being." One may not like to read Emerson's poetry because it is sometimes careless, almost as if carefully so, though never undignified even when slipshod; spotted with quaint archaisms and strange expressions that sound like the affectation of negligence, or with plain, homely phrases, such as the self-made scholar is always afraid of. But if one likes Emerson's poetry he will be sure to love it; if he loves it, its phrases will cling to him as hardly any others do. It may not be for the multitude, but it finds its place like pollen-dust and penetrates to the consciousness it is to fertilize and bring to flower and fruit.

I have known something of Emerson as a talker, not nearly so much as many others who can speak and write of him. It is unsafe to tell how a great thinker talks, for perhaps, like a city dealer with a village customer, he has not shown his best goods to the innocent reporter of his sayings. However that may be in this case, let me contrast in a single glance the momentary effect in conversation of the two neighbors, Hawthorne and Emerson. Speech seemed like a kind of travail to Hawthorne. One must harpoon him like a cetacean

with questions to make him talk at all. Then the words came from him at last, with bashful manifestations, like those of a young girl, almost,—words that gasped themselves forth, seeming to leave a great deal more behind them than they told, and died out, discontented with themselves, like the monologue of thunder in the sky, which always goes off mumbling and grumbling as if it had not said half it wanted to, and meant to, and ought to say.

Emerson was sparing of words, but used them with great precision and nicety. If he had been followed about by a short-hand writing Boswell, every sentence he ever uttered might have been preserved. To hear him talk was like watching one crossing a brook on stepping-stones. His noun had to wait for its verb or its adjective until he was ready; then his speech would come down upon the word he wanted, and not Worcester and Webster could better it from all the wealth of their huge vocabularies.

These are only slender rays of side-light on a personality which is interesting in every aspect and will be fully illustrated by those who knew him best. One glimpse of him as a listener may be worth recalling. He was always courteous and bland to a remarkable degree; his smile was the well-remembered line of Terence written out in living features. But when anything said specially interested him he would lean toward the speaker with a look never to be forgotten, his head stretched forward, his shoulders raised like the wings of an eagle, and his eye watching the flight of the thought which had attracted his attention as if it were his prey to be seized in mid-air and carried up to his eye.

To sum up briefly what would, as it seems to me, be the text to be unfolded in his biography, he was a man of excellent common-sense, with a genius so uncommon that he seemed like an exotic transplanted from some angelic nursery. His character was so blameless, so beautiful, that it was rather a standard to judge others by than to find a place for on the scale of comparison. Looking at life with the profoundest sense of its infinite significance, he was yet a cheerful optimist, almost too hopeful, peeping into every cradle to see if it did not hold a babe with the halo of a new Messiah about it. He enriched the treasure house of literature, but, what was far more, he enlarged the boundaries of thought for the few that followed him, and the many who never knew, and do not know to-day, what hand it was which took down their prison walls. He was a preacher who taught that the religion of humanity included both those of Palestine, nor those

alone, and taught it with such consecrated lips that the narrowest bigot was ashamed to pray for him, as from a footstool nearer to the throne. "Hitch your wagon to a star"; this was his version of the divine lesson taught by that holy George Herbert whose words he loved. Give him whatever place belongs to him in our literature, in the literature of our language, of the world, but remember this: the end and aim of his being was to make truth lovely and manhood valorous, and to bring our daily life nearer and nearer to the eternal, immortal, invisible.

After the address of Dr. Holmes, the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D.D., spoke of his long acquaintance with Mr. Emerson, and read several interesting extracts from letters which he had received from him at an early period of his career. At the close of his remarks Dr. Clarke presented the following Resolution, which was adopted by a rising vote:—

Resolved, That this Society unites in the wide-spread expression of esteem, gratitude, and affectionate reverence paid to the memory of our late associate, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and recognizes the great influence exercised by his character and writings to elevate, purify, and quicken the thought of our time.

Dr. ELLIS then announced from the Council the appointment of Mr. James R. Lowell to prepare a Memoir of Mr. Longfellow; and of Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., to prepare a Memoir of the Hon. John C. Gray, in place of Mr. Palfrey, who had been excused from that duty; also the appointment of Messrs. Chase and A. Lawrence as the Finance Committee for the year; and the Recording Secretary, with Messrs. Green and Smith, as the Committee to publish the Society's Proceedings.

Rear Admiral George H. Preble, U.S.N., and Clement Hugh Hill, Esq., A.M., were elected Resident Members.

Dr. O. W. HOLMES presented a deed of mortgage of a house in the Drapery at Northampton, England, dated Aug. 27, 1683, signed by Thomas Franklin (who is described in the instrument as "of Ecton, in the County of Northton, yeoman") and Samuel Allen (described as "of the town of Northton, painter"). This Thomas Franklin was an uncle of Benjamin Franklin. The deed came from Mr. Bellows, of Gloucester, England, author of the *Miniature French Dictionary*.

Professor CHARLES E. NORTON read the following extracts from letters which he had received about a year ago from the late Mr. Charles Darwin, containing interesting facts about the friendship existing between Franklin and Mr. Darwin's father: —

“DOWN, BECKENHAM, KENT, April 30, 1881.

“I have thought that you might perhaps like to hear the following details about Franklin, whom all Americans justly reverence.

“My father, while very young, studied medicine in Paris, and he often saw Franklin, who was very kind to him, either on account of his father (Erasmus Darwin) or on his own account. My father always spoke of Franklin with the greatest reverence and even affection. In looking over some few memoranda in my father's handwriting I found one of which I enclose a copy. It is, however, of more interest with respect to Louis XVI. than to Franklin himself.

“I remember my father saying that one or two young men, nephews I think, were with Franklin at this time, and they were what would now be called rather flashy young men, and they seemed to be ashamed of Franklin for the simplicity of his appearance and manners. They often treated him with gross disrespect, which never seemed to ruffle Franklin in the least. On one occasion my father was quite shocked at their behavior; but when they left the room, Franklin said to my father with a smile, ‘Poor young men, they do not know what they are saying or how they are acting,’ or words to this effect. Pray forgive me if you do not care at all for these trifling anecdotes.

“*Dr. Franklin. Written by Dr. R. W. Darwin, Nov. 1, 1803.*

“In the spring and summer of the year 1785 I used to dine occasionally at the house of that great man at Passy, near Paris. On one of those days it was remarked that an edict the king had published in the morning respecting some regulation of provisions showed much humanity in his disposition. A gentleman present said that probably the king had neither heard of the scarcity nor of the edict. Dr. Franklin: ‘It is, I fear, too common in all absolute governments that the monarch is the last person who hears either of the oppressions or benefits dispensed in his name. That, however, is not the case in the present instance, for to my own personal knowledge the humane regulation in question proceeded from the king himself.’ After a pause he added, ‘Perhaps no sovereign born to reign ever felt so much for other men, or had more of the milk of human nature than Louis XVI.’”

“DOWN, BECKENHAM, KENT, June 1, 1881.

“I write a line to thank you much for your letter, and to say that none of Franklin's letters to my grandfather have been preserved. Every scrap of information, manuscripts, &c., which are still extant, were sent to me by the grandchildren by his second marriage when I

was preparing my little notice of him. I was very inaccurate about Franklin's nephews (as I imagined them to be), but I hope that I said that I felt quite doubtful whether there was one or two, but am positive about their (or his) rudeness, and about Franklin's manner of taking it.

"I am ashamed to say that I never read Sparks's 'Life of Franklin,' and knew nothing about the letter of which you have so kindly sent me a copy.* My father used to repeat the anecdote, which I presume has been published, of the Queen of France having said to him (when he came to court in plain clothes) that 'you not only teach the world wisdom, but you teach the court of France etiquette,' or something to like effect."

Colonel HENRY LEE spoke of a portrait at the State House said to be that of the Rev. Francis Higginson. After careful study, and comparison with another picture possessing similar claims, it is believed that the one at the State House is an original.

Dr. ELLIS remarked that before the time of Blackburn and Smibert there must have been a portrait painter in Boston, as is proved by the existence of several well-authenticated portraits.

Mr. SMITH, from the committee on memoirs of deceased Resident Members, communicated the following Memoir of Dr. T. W. Harris by his son, Mr. Edward D. Harris.

* Referring to the letter of Erasmus Darwin to Franklin, printed in Franklin's Works, vol. vi. p. 410. — Eds.

MEMOIR

OF

THADDEUS WILLIAM HARRIS, M.D.

BY EDWARD D. HARRIS.

IN the second volume of the Fourth Series of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society may be read a memoir of the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, D.D., from the pen of his friend and associate, Dr. Nathaniel L. Frothingham.

It would be difficult to find two men more unlike in many of their prominent traits than the clergyman of Dorchester and his as well-known son, Thaddeus William Harris, M.D., the subject of this notice.

Both were members of this Society, — the elder elected in 1792, the seventeenth on the list, retaining his association with the Society for half a century, when it terminated with his death ; — the younger elected in 1848, and dying in membership eight years afterward.

Both were men of untiring industry in their respective pursuits, of equal thoroughness, precision, and accuracy in their literary work. Each reached distinction in his chosen calling as much through the exercise of these qualities as from remarkable genius. The attentive reader of Dr. Frothingham's memoir of the elder man might wonder that such a father could beget such a son, but the mystery is explained when he learns from the same source the character of the mother. To her, by right of inheritance, the younger man owed many of the traits that were so widely different from others derived from the gentle, devout father whom he succeeded as the head of the family.

Thomas³ Harris, the emigrant, and father of the line in this country, was born in Ottery Saint Mary, Devonshire, England, in 1637, the son of Thomas,² born there about 1606, and the grandson of John,¹ of Aylesbury and Ottery Saint Mary. He belonged to the Established Church at home, but soon after his arrival in Boston, about 1675, became a member

of the Old South Church. He left an only son, Benjamin,⁴ whose only son, Cary,⁵ left an only son, William,⁶ whose only son was the Dorchester minister, the father of the subject of this sketch.

Thaddeus William Harris was born in Dorchester, Nov. 12, 1795, the eldest child of Thaddeus Mason Harris, by his wife, Mary (Dix).

He was fitted for college at Dedham and Bridgewater, at the latter place under the kindly care of the Rev. Dr. Zedekiah Sanger. He entered Harvard College in 1811, in his sixteenth year, graduating with his class in 1815. It is said of him that while in college he was timid and sensitive, rather a nervous and recluse youth; but it is probable that this reputation was due more to his habits of retirement than to timidity. Certainly, later in life this trait was not prominent in his character.

In the class of 1815 were graduated several who in after years became associated with Dr. Harris at Cambridge in the university, and with whom he enjoyed the privileges of frequent intercourse,—President Jared Sparks, Professors Convers Francis, John Gorham Palfrey, and Theophilus Parsons,—while the Revs. Richard M. Hodges and George G. Ingersoll were also residents of the same city. With one classmate, Mr. Charles Briggs, he was on terms of peculiar intimacy, and the warm friendship existing between them endured through many after years of their lives.

Immediately after graduation Mr. Harris commenced the study of medicine, received his medical degree from Harvard College in 1820, and commenced practice in the town of Milton, in connection with Dr. Amos Holbrook.

In 1824 he was married to Catherine, the youngest daughter of Dr. Holbrook, who still survives. He probably at that time, and until somewhat later, contemplated no departure from his profession. His elder associate, now his father-in-law, was one of the most eminent practitioners of his day. Harvard College had in 1813 conferred upon Dr. Holbrook the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine, and his widely known skill and strong personal attractions had brought to him a large and extended practice. To this Dr. Harris must have naturally looked forward to succeeding, but it appears that other influences were weighing with him which resulted before many years in his ultimate abandonment of the profession. During the preparation for his medical life he had paid some attention to the study of botany, and as early as 1819 we find him carrying on an animated discussion by letter with

Dr. Dow, of Dover, New Hampshire, on botanical and entomological questions in their relations with *Materia Medica*. This is the first recorded evidence of a decided or pronounced taste in the direction which his studies of later years assumed. As a physician he certainly possessed many natural traits which should have won for him a high place in the profession. It is possible that the reserve which has been noticed as a distinguishing feature in his college life, which did not disappear in after years, and of which he must have been conscious, may have seemed to him an obstacle to his success. Perhaps he felt that the broad field of nature, to which he was looking forward with ever-increasing interest, was his proper sphere. Certain it is that his charge had grown distasteful to him, and when, in 1831, the position of Librarian to the University was offered him, it was gladly accepted. Here, then, his life as a medical man ended, and his career as a naturalist in the broadest signification of the term, properly began. From this time forward his interests and efforts, interwoven as they were by force of circumstances, moved in three channels. As an officer of the college he was no less zealous and active in the discharge of his duties than keen and thorough in his researches in the natural sciences, or accurate and systematic in his antiquarian studies. Each shared his attention. To the first were given conscientiously and honestly the hours of daylight necessary to the performance of his official work; to the others he brought all the time that could be wrested from sleep and recreation. The library at that time numbered but thirty thousand volumes, and occupied Harvard Hall. In 1840 it was transferred to Gore Hall, then newly erected; and upon its arrangement and classification in the new quarters he bestowed the solicitude and care that were a part of his nature. At his death it had increased to sixty-five thousand volumes, for that day a most respectable collection, and one of the most important in the country. To the office of librarian Dr. Harris brought habits of precision and method, a disciplined and scholarly mind, and a wide range of general and scientific information. To those who visited the library for purposes of study and research he was always accessible, and his advice, suggestions, and assistance were freely given them. He was admirably adapted by taste and education for the position in which he now found himself. He possessed, in addition to his extensive knowledge of many branches of the natural sciences, a keen love for and appreciation of the fine arts, was an interested student in geography and history, a good

classical scholar, and a fair mathematician. It seems probable from his correspondence at that period of his life that for the first few years of his residence in Cambridge the duties of the office were not arduous, giving him larger opportunities for study and observation than he enjoyed later. How well he used these opportunities the result of his life's work makes apparent; but as the years went on, the growth of the library and its limited means for employing additional aid made greater and increasing demands upon his time and strength. That he recognized this fact, and deplored his inability to wander outside the strictly defined lines of his duty as librarian, is made evident by his published correspondence. It would appear that for the last years of his life he yielded to the inevitable, and became more and more absorbed in his official duties. At the expiration of twenty-five years of service, his work, by his death, passed into the hands of his successor, himself a member of this Society, and the associate and friend of Dr. Harris for fifteen years.

In historical and kindred matters Dr. Harris was a student rather than a writer. As happily expressed by Colonel Higginson, in his memoir published by the Boston Society of Natural History in 1869, "He had a genuine love of antiquarian research, though always kept under by the greater attraction of natural science." At one time he made a careful study of the early voyages of discovery and settlements upon the North American coast, but only detached notes on the subject are found among his papers. His knowledge of the history of the aborigines of the continent was extensive, and his interest in the subject never abated. As a genealogist he was a most cautious and thorough investigator, but unfortunately gave but little of his work to the public. With Savage he maintained a vigorous and voluminous correspondence, and the existing letters of the former, with their replies, form in themselves alone a most remarkable commentary on the industry and exhaustive research of both. He seemed to possess an instinct for unerringly tracing a genealogy, and the wandering individual who was encountered in his search was almost as surely and correctly assigned his proper place in the line of family descent, as was the wary insect allotted in his cabinet its true order and genus. An article published in the Boston "Courier" of July 29, 1847, on Stephen Daye, the Cambridge printer, is his earliest published historical paper that has been found, if we except the extended biographical notice of Dr. Amos Holbrook, written for the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal" of 1842. In 1848 he wrote

for the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" a paper on the Josselyn Family of Massachusetts, and left at his death an incomplete genealogy of the Hugh Mason family of Watertown. The manuscript of the latter has been copied and deposited in the library of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society.

He was made an honorary member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1846, and, as has been already stated, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1848.

But it was as a naturalist that Dr. Harris was best and most widely known. Into the pursuit of this science he flung himself with an ardor and zeal that lasted while strength and health were vouchsafed him. It is said of him that during his college life he was not noted for any special love for natural sciences, further than being a good scholar in chemistry and philosophy. But certainly as early as in 1820 he was closely studying the habits of certain insects and plants in connection with his medical pursuits, and it is not unlikely that his attention had been drawn in those directions at even an earlier date. It was in that year that his father published a work entitled the "Natural History of the Bible," which became a standard both here and in Europe, and in its preparation it is probable that the younger man aided the elder. A little later he was a member of the examining committee in chemistry for his *Alma Mater*, and after Professor Peck's death in 1822, he reviewed with his father the manuscripts left by that scientist with a view to their publication. As early as in 1820 he commenced the formation of his elaborate entomological collection, which is now the property of the Boston Society of Natural History, an organization in which he evinced a strong interest, and to which for many years he was attached as a member. During his residence in Milton, and before his assumption of the librarian's duties, he was an indefatigable collector, and it was during that period that his cabinet received its largest accessions. Botany possessed for him always a peculiar charm, but in the comparatively unexplored field of American entomology he felt that he was master, and devoted to the study the larger part of his leisure hours.

In 1831 he prepared the Catalogue of Insects embraced in Hitchcock's State Report, a work of much importance in its time, and which excited among scientific men no little interest. This catalogue was the first systematic attempt made in this country to enumerate and classify American insects, and

stood for many years as authority for the nomenclature of genera and species. The success that attended the result of this effort was very largely attributable to the author's familiarity with the works of Latreille, Olivier, and other entomologists of European reputation.

In 1837 he took charge of the department of Natural History in the university, the professorship of which was vacant, and performed the duties of the chair until the appointment of a permanent instructor five years afterward. In this connection it may not be improper to quote from Colonel Higginson's memoir the impression left upon his mind by Dr. Harris's instructions at that period. "In him there lived for us the very spirit of Linnæus, or whatever name best represents the simplest and purest type of the naturalist. . . . Dr. Harris was so simple and eager; his tall, spare form and thin face took on such a glow and brightness; he dwelt so lovingly on antennæ and tarsi, and handled his little insect martyrs so fondly, that it was enough to make one love this study for life beyond all branches of natural science." If this sketch of Dr. Harris as he stood in the lecture-room is truthful, it is equally so of him in his outings. Indelibly fixed upon the writer's memory are the recollections of the bright, sunny days spent with him in rambling over the beautiful country about Belmont and Waltham; of the sudden rushes after some flying Buprestis, or the wary chase of some shy Cynthian; of the bark-stripping in search of the Curculio larva, and the search in the meadow pools for the Dytiscus. And sometimes net would be dropped and a stone wall scaled that an old, mossy grave-stone in a forgotten burying-ground could be cleaned and its epitaph transcribed in the note-book. On such occasions every passing insect and every way-side plant furnished a text for such lessons as only he could give. And through it all, ran that thorough delight in the subject, and the tenderness, almost feminine, for everything that the Creator had made, that were so markedly a part of his being.

In 1837 he was appointed by the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts one of a Commission for a scientific survey of the State, and in this connection he prepared his "Report on Insects Injurious to Vegetation," which was published at the charge of the State in 1841, afterward in 1852 in a revised edition, and again in 1862 in an enlarged and illustrated form under the editorship of Mr. Charles L. Flint, the Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture. This work in its completeness is a fitting monument to the knowledge and industry of its author. As a popular treatise

on injurious insects it is without a rival, even after a lapse of forty years from its publication. In it the rare talent of the man for exact observation and lucidity of statement is as evident as his broad acquaintance with the subject. It became a text-book in the families of the more intelligent agriculturists of New England, and a ready helper to every student of entomology in the land.

Nor did his active work as an author rest here. The Boston Society's memoir furnishes a list of one hundred and four published papers from his pen, bearing upon the subject of entomology; and subsequent searches of Dr. Hagen, the learned entomologist of the Cambridge Museum, have materially swelled the list. In 1869 the same Society honored him with the publication, in a handsome octavo of over three hundred pages, of selections from his scientific correspondence under the careful editorship of Mr. Samuel H. Scudder. How well this work was done, and with what delicacy and rare judgment, must be apparent to every one who has read it, and who knew Dr. Harris.

In botany he was always an eager student. In 1840 he published a scientific list of native plants found in the vicinity of Boston. Late in his life he made a careful study of the cultivated squashes, and left in manuscript a carefully prepared though incomplete treatise on the subject, enriched with many original sketches. For several seasons his garden — next to his collection the delight of his life — was filled with squashes, pumpkins, and gourds of every conceivable shape, size, and color. Seeds came to him from all quarters of the globe, and their products formed a collection as unique as it was interesting.

Dr. Harris's collection of insects passed after his death into the hands and careful custody of the Boston Society of Natural History. In 1837 he himself wrote, "Should death surprise me before the results of my labors are before the public, I shall leave an exhaustive, well-arranged, and named collection which . . . will remain as a standard of comparison when I am gone." It was commenced in 1820, and until his death received constant accessions and his watchful care. It remained, as he said, "a standard of comparison."

As a naturalist Dr. Harris stood in the front rank. Agassiz said of him that "he had few equals even if the past were included in the comparison"; and one of the most distinguished of American botanists wrote of him, "Of other genuine naturalists I have read, but he is the only one I ever knew."

With but few exceptions the contemporaries of Dr. Harris in the natural sciences are now dead, and of the younger generation who have taken their places few knew him personally. Accompanying the Boston Society's memoir is a portrait engraved by Halpin, which, if not wholly satisfactory, is a fair likeness of him as he appeared at the age of fifty.* In person he was tall, measuring full six feet in height, but his spare, thin frame gave him the appearance of even greater stature. He was rarely unwell, and his last sickness was the only occasion in many years when he was confined even to the house by illness. All his life he suffered to some extent with nervous headaches, probably the result of continued and close application to his studies with corresponding want of exercise and recreation. His powers for work seemed exhaustless. He apparently needed no rest. His life was one of untiring activity, and of constant occupation. No man ever knew better the value of time, or how best to economize it. All his efforts were directed to some well-defined purpose, and this was undoubtedly the reason that he was able to accomplish in his lifetime such an amount of varied and useful work. The reader of Colonel Higginson's memoir might draw the inference that to Dr. Harris, at least, his life was an unsatisfactory or unhappy one. Such was very far from being the fact. While not possessing a buoyant and ardent temperament, he was ever cheerful and composed. If in occasional private letters to those who were in close sympathy with him in his scientific pursuits he expressed grief and disappointment at his inability to devote his entire time to the studies that so largely engrossed his thoughts, he did not suffer that feeling to embitter his life or to cramp his energies for work. He was by nature a silent, reserved man, and, as he passed middle life, it is possible that he grew more absorbed in his own thoughts and less open to approach than in his younger days.

Allusion has been made in the early part of this memoir to the mother of Dr. Harris. She was a woman of great energy and firmness, and from her he inherited his force of character, with a certain degree of sternness which perhaps increased in his later years. There was a warm bond of sympathy between these two, so much alike. Their interviews in her old age (for she lived until the year 1852) were characterized by an old-fashioned tender courtesy rather than by an effusive dis-

* The plate of Halpin's portrait of Dr. Harris was destroyed in the Boston fire of November, 1872.

play of affection, which would have been foreign to the nature of each.

Of all men he was one of the most simple and unostentatious in his tastes, habits of life, dress, and manners. He had an intense hatred of all shams and deceit. In conversation he was simple and unaffected, simple in thought and expression, and thoroughly earnest and sincere in all his doings. For the science to which he devoted so large a portion of his thoughts he possessed an enthusiasm that seemed almost at variance with his nature. Nothing else could arouse it, if his love for natural scenery is excepted. In the fields or on the mountains he was like another man. He thoroughly enjoyed his brief vacations, in latter years spent mostly in the White Mountains. His delight in the contemplation of the beautiful and majestic scenery of that locality was ever as fresh and intense as at first.

To his fellow naturalists, and to the younger students in the sciences who sought his aid, he always threw open his resources to their fullest extent. His correspondence with the former, at home and abroad, covered the full period of his professional life; many of these were his friends of long standing, and with some—notably among them the eminent British entomologist, Edward Doubleday—he was on terms of peculiar intimacy. As Colonel Higginson so well says of him, “He would give whole golden days of his scanty summer vacations to arranging and labelling the collections of younger entomologists.” After the publication of his “Treatise,” and in fact until his life was ended, he was the recipient of constant calls and communications from agriculturists and others seeking information concerning habits of destructive insects and the proper remedies for their extinction; and many an old farmer who had travelled miles to bring him a newly discovered cabbage-pest, or a strange wheat-fly, was sent away from his house delighted with the story of insect life, and the practical hints that he received from the reserved but courteous gentleman who had welcomed him with the dignity and politeness of a by-gone age.

As a writer Dr. Harris possessed a peculiarly happy faculty. His chief work, although treating of a subject difficult to handle without the use of many technical and professional terms, is singularly simple and attractive in its style. He possessed also a rare accomplishment, that of easily and correctly delineating his subject with pencil and brush. Some of his insect sketches were finished with a skill and minute detail which would have done credit to a professional artist,

and all of them evince the possession of great natural gifts in that direction. For some of the fine arts he had decided tastes, and his architectural drawings made for his own pleasure, or for some immediate practical use, were as excellent in their way as his sketches from natural objects.

Dr. Harris died at his home in Cambridge on the morning of the 16th of January, 1856. After a long life of strength and health and usefulness it would seem to have been but fitting could he have folded his hands and enjoyed even for a brief while a rest so well earned. But when the end came it found him still "in the harness." His associate in the librarian's duties had just left his sick chamber, after an interview on business matters connected with the office, when he suddenly expired.

Dr. Harris received the degrees of A.B. and A.M. from Harvard College in course, and the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1820. He was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, and of the Boston Society of Natural History; a corresponding member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia; an honorary member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and a corresponding member of the London Entomological Society.

[After the record of the April meeting was printed, Mr. George B. Chase received from our associate, Colonel Lyman, a statement, in form of a letter, in the handwriting of his father, Mayor Lyman, in reference to the libel suit instituted against him by Daniel Webster. This paper seems to the committee a valuable and interesting addition to Mr. Chase's contribution on that subject, printed above at pages 281-284, and they therefore here insert it. — Eds.]

"Putnam & Hunt, printers, published in a small pamphlet an account of a trial to which I was subjected for a libel. I have endeavored to find a copy of this pamphlet, but I have not succeeded. There was an account of the trial also published in a paper of the day called, I think, the 'Massachusetts Journal'; at any rate a paper edited by David L. Child. The circumstances relating to this trial are these:—

"My father was a decided federalist, as well as his friends and acquaintance. I was brought up in that school. I adopted all the opinions that were entertained by that class of politicians of the act of desertion by John Quincy Adams of that party, as well as the manner of that act. When Mr. Adams was proposed in 1824-25 as a candidate for the office of President, I could not bring my mind to give him my vote, but supported William H. Crawford, of Georgia; though in this course I had little aid or countenance from other federalists of Massachusetts, many of whom, much to my surprise and disgust, voted for Mr. Adams, though Mr. Crawford was in all respects a suitable man for the office. In 1828, moved by the same general considerations, and also being led to believe that Andrew Jackson was an open-hearted and straightforward man, with liberal and enlarged views, I took an active part in promoting his election in opposition to Mr. Adams, who I again found to have the support in Massachusetts of many federalists, concerning whose conduct Mr. Adams had used very harsh language, in some cases charging them with acts bordering on treason. This course of these federalists greatly roused my indignation, for, if they did not approve of General Jackson, they were not obliged to vote for Mr. Adams. While in this state of mind and feeling, and zealously engaged in the election, a piece appeared in the 'National Intelligencer' of October, 1828, which appeared to have been authorized by Mr. Adams himself. On reading it I was exceedingly incensed, and hastily wrote a few lines in reference to it that were published in the 'Jackson Republican' of Oct. 29, 1828. The names of leading federalists were introduced, among others that of Daniel Webster. But no part of the piece is a libel, not even on Mr. Adams himself. Mr. Webster, however, considered it one. He employed a lawyer without delay to address a note to the publisher of the paper, to inquire who the author of the piece was. The name was given to him. Mr. Webster went immediately to the grand jury and caused me to be indicted for a libel. The trial took place; it was made a

party question. All Boston was most decidedly anti-Jackson. Still the jury did not agree, and after some time a *nolle prosequi* was entered by the other party, as appears by the letter of Mr. Dexter enclosed.

"It was a hasty, unjust, and unreasonable proceeding to consider the publication in the 'Jackson Republican' a libel. If it was one, most of the political newspapers in the United States contain libels every week during the period of animated elections. Second, if the Jackson cause had not been so very unpopular in Boston, it would never have occurred to any one that the publication was a libel, and no one would have incurred the odium of trying to make it so. Third, the course that Mr. Webster himself adopted was one that, in my opinion, could not be justified; at any rate, it would have been exceedingly weak and indiscreet in me to have submitted to it. At the time of the publication I was, and had been for months, on intimate terms in the way of society with him; saw him usually two or three times a week; belonged then, and had belonged for two or three years, to a dinner club with him that met every Saturday. He was well acquainted with my politics. As soon, then, as he was informed that I was the author of the publication, it was no more than I had a right to expect that an inquiry should be addressed to me, whether it was really my intention to write and publish a libel on him or not. Considering the nature of the piece and the relations of the parties, he had no right to presume any such thing. On the contrary, the presumption was that I had no such intention. But instead of taking this obvious, simple, and becoming course, he himself presented my name to the grand jury of the county without the slightest communication with me or any of my friends.

"It remains to add that, after a couple of years, our former intercourse and relations of society were restored, and in this way: Mr. Webster had in the mean time married a lady of New York, Miss Le Roy, a former acquaintance in that city of my wife. We were informed that if Mrs. Lyman thought proper to call on Mrs. Webster on her arrival from New York in Boston, the visit would be received with pleasure, and at a suitable time returned. This was done.

"THEODORE LYMAN."

JUNE MEETING, 1882.

The stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, in the rooms on Tremont Street, at 3 o'clock P. M.; the senior Vice-President in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the previous meeting, and it was accepted.

The Librarian presented the monthly list of donors to the Library. The gifts included copies of Dr. Ellis's new volume, "The Red Man and the White Man in North America," and of an English edition of Colonel Higginson's "Common Sense about Women." Dr. Green himself had given a manuscript book containing the list of a company of minute-men recruited by Captain Thomas Poor, Jr., in Andover, in February, 1775, the first contribution of that town to the Revolutionary struggle.*

The Corresponding Secretary reported that Admiral Preble and Mr. C. H. Hill had accepted their elections as Resident Members.

The VICE-PRESIDENT then announced the death of a Corresponding Member, as follows:—

The ocean cable has informed us of the death in London on Sunday, the 28th of May last, of Colonel Joseph Lemuel Chester, LL.D. and D.C.L., one of our Corresponding Mem-

* The list in this small book differs somewhat from the lists of Captain Poor's company printed in Miss Bailey's "Historical Sketches of Andover," at pp. 297, 298, and 320, 321. The John Farrington and John Johnson of her lists appear here respectively as Jrs.: the name she prints as Jonathan Roberson is here plainly written Robinson (the man's own signature in a good hand is attached to a receipt for pay); and this list contains the names of Jacob Osgood, Samuel Linsey, George Abbot, Dudley Messer, Samuel Fowls, Joshua Wood, Stephen Long, David Howe, and Frederick Frye, in addition to those on Miss Bailey's earlier list. Some of these names appear, however, on her second list.

The company was formed February 2, and appears to have met for drill a half-day twice a week until April 19, when the captain makes this entry: "sat out from home in order to meet the regular troops that were gone to Concord, and marched to Billerica, and so on to Bedford. Then heard that they were gone back. We turned our course and proceeded to Cambridge that night, and took our abode therein; and my expense for the company was 14/ lawful money."

After a blank page follow receipts signed (July 7-11) by various officers of the regiment (Frye's, of which Captain Poor had been commissioned major, June 8), for different numbers of coats to replace those lost by their men in the late battle upon "buncar's hill." The book ends with an earlier receipt (May 6, Cambridge) for one dollar each for "training," signed by many of the men of the company. — EDS.

bers, personally known to many of us by intercourse, correspondence, and the performance of friendly services. He was born in Norwich, Connecticut, April 30, 1821. Having begun the study of law in New York, he left it for mercantile pursuits in that city and Philadelphia. He was connected with the newspaper press for several years, and was the author in this country of several well-received publications in verse and prose. He established himself in London for business purposes in 1858. His tastes led him to devote himself to historical, genealogical, and biographical studies, in which he has done noble work and won rare distinction. Dean Stanley, in his "Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey," referring to Dr. Chester's publication in 1876 of his laborious Registers of the Abbey, speaks of him as "a distinguished antiquarian of the United States, who, with a diligence which spared no labor, and a disinterestedness which spared no expenditure, has at his own cost edited and illustrated, with a copious accuracy which leaves nothing to be desired, the registers of the baptisms, marriages, and burials in the Abbey."

Dr. Chester is best known here through two others of his productions, namely, his keenly pursued investigations into the ancestry of Washington, his publication of the results of which opened sharp discussion and controversy, not, however, discrediting the positions he had taken; second, his marvelously well-wrought "Life of John Rogers," the proto-martyr in Queen Mary's reign. Dr. Chester was one of the numerous lineage of the first of our Rogerses, — the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich, son of the Puritan, John Rogers, of Dedham, England. It has been a pleasant tradition here for a hundred years that this John Rogers was of direct descent from the martyr. Dr. Chester's searching investigations wholly invalidate this tradition, and compel those who prided themselves in it to yield it as untenable. The disputed point as to whether the martyr had nine children or ten, is settled by the evidence that he had eleven. Dr. Chester's degree of LL.D. came from Columbia College, New York; that of D.C.L. from Oxford.

Dr. ELLIS continued : —

By the kind invitation and hospitality of our Corresponding Members, Professor William Gammell and the Hon. J. R. Bartlett, Mr. Deane and myself had a day of rare enjoyment yesterday in a visit to the beautiful city of Providence, and in

an inspection of that sumptuous depository of precious literary treasures, the Carter-Brown Library. After a drive on that glorious summer morning, a glance through the admirable arrangements of the new college library, with its well-appreciated curator, Mr. Guild, and the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society, under Mr. Perry, our kind host drove us to the charming summit of Prospect Hill to take in the scene of industry, thrift, and beauty, over the Blackstone valley. I could not but think how exceedingly unreasonable it was for Roger Williams, Hutchinson, Gorton, Coddington, Easton, and others of the "exorbitant and unsavory heretics" of our early years, to complain that they were invited to take themselves out of Massachusetts, as "unmeet" for citizens, when they found such refuges as Providence, Warwick Neck, all the shores of Narragansett Bay, the island of Aquidneck, and especially its Newport, to which the most privileged of the wealthy and fashionable are now drawn every summer, doubtless to honor the memory of the early settlers. Certainly those first comers, who always cast backward glances to our jurisdiction, and were with difficulty kept from straying into it again, found and have left a most fair heritage.

Our chief errand took us to the stately mansion, in a separate attachment to which, carefully guarded from fire and damp, is deposited the library of the late John Carter Brown. By the generous provisions of his representatives it is kept up under its admirable arrangements, with means for its increase and perfecting, in conformity with its original design and its unique composition. Our members here need not to be told that it finds the best qualified and accomplished of all bibliographers and watchful curators and skilled interpreters in Mr. Bartlett. We have on our shelves his exceedingly valuable and elaborate catalogue of the library. He has an additional volume for speedy publication.

"Americana" is the fitting and expressive title by which the collection, in its specialty, is known. The rarity, the completeness, the perfection, and the sumptuousness of that rich array of relics from the ancient presses of the world, their disposal upon shelves and in cabinets, the lavish outlay, and yet the pure, fine taste of their adornment, strike the observer at the first glance. Its zealous and generous collector did not allow himself to keep any account of the vast sums of money spent upon the little leaflets of some of the tracts, or the gorgeous quartos and folios on the shelves, so that our provincial curiosity as to cost will never be grati-

fied. It is enough to drop this single statement, namely, that there are in the collection over nine thousand five hundred volumes, and that single ones among them, according to their actual purchase price by Mr. Brown, and the estimate of their value by kindred collectors, each represent a sum which would secure the same number of books for a useful miscellaneous library for town or city. There, and there only, are to be found unique, or nearly unique, specimens of most curious relics of the press, antedating, or contemporaneous with, the first lookings across the ocean towards this veiled continent; the precious letters of Columbus; and then a continuous succession of the ventures of the early navigators. There is a magnificent and most complete collection of the folios of De Bry in various languages, with their fine, sharp-cut engravings, in clear type, on honest linen paper, elegantly clothed and inscribed. There are the original Hakluyts and Purchases. There are the Ptolemies, in one of which is the first attempt on a map of an engraved configuration of this New World, as yet without any other name; and also Camers's Solinus, a map in which, as has been believed, unless a recent claim is established, for the first time attaches to it its present name. There are the treasured originals of the printed narratives and journals of the first voyagers, explorers, and colonists whose eyes were greeted with the first view of these marvels and mysteries, and whose narrations in detail and style are in harmony with these novelties and aspects. There is an almost complete series of the originals of the Jesuit "Relations," which, more than two centuries ago, were of such absorbing interest to devout readers in France, revealing the zeal and heroism of missionaries in the depths of our wildernesses. Efforts and expense hardly measurable have been given to the repairing of defective leaves, the restoring of a map or chart, the producing in *fac-simile* a missing title or page, and the combining of fragments into a perfect whole, of many of these relics. And when the collection, for the completeness of its "Americana," gives place to volumes of less rarity, something of sumptuousness or elegance distinguishes them. One might sit at ease in that storied and monumental library and retrace with quaint and picturesque rehearsals, and in the company of doughty roamers and heroes by sea and land, the incidents of the days and months, the years and the centuries, which have made the history of our continent. And the especial dignity and distinction of that collection is the generous freedom with which it is put at the service of those who can wisely use it. Arthur

Helps, in one of his volumes, pays a graceful return to the courteous confidence of Mr. Brown in sending to him for desired consultation a unique volume across the ocean by express.

A brief extract from a letter which I have recently received from our President, Mr. Winthrop, dated in Paris, May 17, will have interest here: "Last Sunday morning I had a great treat at St. Margaret's, London, where the window in memory of Sir Walter Raleigh, which our Society, at my suggestion, led off in subscribing for, was unveiled. A beautiful window it is, — the large west window of the old Parliamentary church, with full-length figures of Queen Elizabeth, Raleigh, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Lowell wrote the inscription for it in verse. The sermon by Canon Farrar was admirable, full of kind feeling to America, and every way worthy of the window, of Raleigh, and of himself." Mr. Winthrop refers to the delight he had found in reading in the "Advertiser" the extracts from the last volume of Judge Sewall's journal, with its most amusing account of the courtship of Madam Winthrop. He says; "Nothing in Pepys or Evelyn can exceed that record." He and another Madam Winthrop had a hearty laugh over it.

Mr. W. S. APPLETON spoke of Colonel Chester as follows: —

With your leave, Mr. President, I will say a few words in addition to your own in recognition of the labors and accomplishments of Colonel Chester in the study of genealogy and family history. He was, by general consent, at the head of his profession, the highest authority in his chosen pursuit. We all know what many workers have done in this country, and what a few, well represented by our late member, Mr. Horatio G. Somerby, have done in England; but Colonel Chester carried this study to a completeness and perfection never before attempted. If one wishes to see the result of thorough, patient research, joined with admirable judgment and close reasoning, let him read carefully the English portions of the Wentworth and Hutchinson Genealogies. The superb volume on the Taylor family, presented to our Library by the author, Peter A. Taylor, Esq., M. P., owes the perfection of its family record largely to the searches of Colonel Chester. The recognition of English readers and critics was more especially gained by the publication of the

Registers of Westminster Abbey, edited by Colonel Chester for the Harleian Society,—a marvellous labor of love and enthusiasm. Of that Society he was one of the founders, and always a member of the council; and for it he edited several volumes, one of which is still in the press. He leaves in manuscript a full copy of the matriculations of Oxford University, which he hoped to edit and print at some time. His labors were thought worthy of the degree of D.C.L. of the same university; and I remember his showing me his copy of Queen Victoria's "Life in the Highlands," or some other work, sent by herself, with her autograph, Victoria R. et I.

I met Colonel Chester first in 1866, and have never stayed in London since without renewing the acquaintance. His readiness to open his boxes of manuscripts to fellow-students was delightful, and often very helpful. His collections were so carefully indexed that to one asking what he had about any name or family he could give an immediate answer, and I have been indebted to him for more than one item of will, or entry of marriage or death, which he had copied from some parish register, where I should never have thought of seeking it. Next to Doctors' Commons and the British Museum, his room must have been the best place in England to trace a genealogy, as he had a library of manuscript copies of old records of all kinds.

He was elected a Corresponding Member of this Society in February, 1873, and, after the famous historians who have graced our roll, I think that no name has been more worthily placed there than that of Joseph Lemuel Chester.

The Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER said:—

Mr. President,—I can heartily confirm what has been said in honor of Colonel Chester. It was my good fortune to make his acquaintance in London about three years ago. He invited me to his house in Southwark Park Road, Bermondsey, where he had collected a private library of the most unique and valuable description. It consisted not so much of books as of manuscripts—copies of wills, deeds, letters, papers, epitaphs, &c.—which he had obtained, with much care and at great expense, during his residence of over twenty years in England.

Beginning with his researches in preparation for his elaborate work upon John Rogers, Colonel Chester entered upon a field of genealogical inquiry, especially in the range of Anglo-

Americana, which he cultivated with unfailing assiduity and with ever-increasing success.

In quest of original material he visited all parts of the kingdom, examining parish registers, ancient wills, and all other sources of possible information that were open to him.

In this way he accumulated a mass of documentary evidence, hitherto unknown, bearing upon his chosen work.

I do not know what disposition is to be made of these literary treasures, but it is to be hoped that they will be carefully preserved and made available for some worthy successor in this important department of historical research. One could wish that they might be deposited with the British Museum.

Colonel Chester's writings have always been characterized by a strict regard for historic truth. He never gave a tradition or a theory for a fact, but applied the sifting process most rigidly; and many a time he has parted with the most cherished traditions and theories rather than do violence to the evident trend of his newly discovered truth.

For this fidelity and devotion he was highly honored in England, and, year by year, his reputation increased among scholars and antiquaries. He was one of the founders of the Harleian Society, to whose proceedings he contributed many valuable papers.

He was also an active member of the Royal Historical Society, and of many other similar organizations in different parts of England and of the United States.

The results of his investigations frequently appeared in the columns of the prominent literary and archæological journals. He was also a recognized authority at the College of Heraldry. His great work on the Abbey Registers secured for him not only the high commendation of Dean Stanley, but also a present from the Queen, accompanied by an autograph letter, — a token of appreciation which was most gratifying to the deserving author.*

It is not without a feeling of patriotic pride that I call attention thus to the eminent services of one of our fellow-countrymen, who, though living abroad so long, has reflected high honor upon American literary ability and zeal, and secured for American history, in its English connections, a vast amount of new light, which will be highly prized by all future students of the subject.

* The Dean and Chapter of Westminster have announced their intention of placing in the Abbey a memorial tablet to Colonel Chester, in recognition of his services in preparing and annotating the Westminster Abbey Registers.

Colonel Chester * received the degree of LL.D. in 1877 from Columbia College, and in 1881 that of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford.

Mr. GEORGE B. CHASE spoke as follows:—

I did not come here to-day, Sir, with the intention of adding any thing to the just words that were to be said upon the character and attainments of Colonel Chester. But if my correspondence with him was too brief to permit me to speak of his personal qualities, I would not fail to remember that I was often indebted to him in past years for information always generously accorded on my behalf to others. I am, too, painfully aware that his death leaves a great place vacant, which none of us can hope soon to see filled. It is not, I think, too much to say of the work Colonel Chester accomplished that if, within the period of his long residence in England, the attempts to trace the early history of the founders of these colonies, their genealogies and antecedent circumstances, the counties from which they came, and the very homes which they left, have grown from the uncertain and desultory efforts of isolated New Englanders into a recognized branch of historical research, it was in a large measure due to the admirable result of his investigations, and to the unfailing aid he was ever ready to extend to other genealogists.

Numerous lines of family research must for a time remain unfinished with his death; for he was the last of three successful antiquaries who, for a period of thirty years, were employed by American genealogists. Of these, the late Mr. Somerby was the first to establish himself in London as a professional antiquary. On his death, in 1872, the late Mr. Wm. Henry Turner of Bodley's Library succeeded to a portion of his unfinished work. I am glad to mention his name to-day, for he was a warm friend and admirer of Chester, and his story is an interesting one. He was born in Oxford, as he told me, and placed in his boyhood in a chemist's shop. Here he first showed his taste for antiquities. Rising in his employer's favor, as his pay increased he began to collect old documents. Industrious, and gifted with an extraordinary memory, he succeeded in

* An engraved portrait of Colonel Chester may be seen in an early number of "Godey's Ladies' Book," under the name of "Our Musical Editor, Julian Cramer."

forming such a collection of manuscripts, principally relating to the county of Oxford, that the attention of Bodley's Librarian was drawn to him. His collections were bought for the Library, and he was himself appointed upon its staff. He compiled the "Calender of Charters and Rolls preserved in the Bodleian Library," and edited the Harleian Society's volume "Oxfordshire." He continued in the Bodleian till his comparatively early death, June 30, 1880, at the age of fifty-two. Such was his capacity for labor that he was able to accept engagements for genealogical research, which he diligently pursued in odd hours and upon holidays. He was careful and painstaking in his work, and a very honest, worthy, and lovable man. Like Mr. Somerby, he left no collection of value to American genealogists.

Colonel Chester was the first to do so. No man before him had been so systematic or so thorough, nor had any other genealogist accumulated such splendid results. I have heard his library described by Englishmen, who applauded the accuracy and extent of his records. No one, I have been told, who saw it could forget it. There is nothing to-day to compare with it. To students of history his collections are of that peculiar and lasting importance which attaches to manuscripts which, if lost, cannot be replaced, and whose value increases as the age recedes to which they refer. Such a collection should be preserved intact. It should belong to his countrymen. Its place is here.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced, from the Council, that that board recommended the Society to dispense with the stated meetings for July and August; and it was voted to dispense with these meetings, authority being reserved, however, for the Chairman and Secretary to call a special meeting at any time during these months if one should be deemed necessary.

An application from Messrs. A. Williams & Co., of Boston, for permission to print, in handsome form, in a separate volume, the proceedings of the Society in reference to the deaths of Mr. Longfellow and Mr. Emerson was willingly granted.

The following letter from Mr. William H. Whitmore, addressed to the Chairman of the Standing Committee, was read:—

CITY HALL, June 6, 1882.

GENTLEMEN,—As you probably know, the City of Boston has ordered the restoration of the legislative halls in the Old State House.

The formal opening will be early in July, and it is intended to make special exertion to have the rooms in good order on that day. The State will lend us some pictures and other mementos of the past. I venture to ask your body to lend us a few articles especially appropriate. I would instance the Speaker's desk, the King's arms (in wood), the Indian vane from the Province House, and the portraits of such of the governors as ruled in the old building.

I would suggest that you instruct the Chairman of the Council to loan such articles as I have named, and any similar ones, to be intrusted to the City, and properly receipted for by it.

I remain, in behalf of the City Committee in charge,

Yours very truly,

WM. H. WHITMORE.

Agreeably to the recommendation of the Council, it was

Voted, To refer this application to a committee, consisting of the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council (Mr. Lodge), the Cabinet-keeper, and the Librarian, with full powers as to the articles to be lent and the duration of the loan.

Dr. S. A. Green and Mr. C. C. Smith, having signified their wish to be relieved from further service on the committee to publish the Proceedings, were excused; and the Vice-President appointed Mr. J. P. Quincy and Mr. H. E. Scudder as members of that committee, the Recording Secretary being *ex officio* its chairman.

On motion of Mr. Deane, the thanks of the Society were voted to Messrs. Green and Smith for their long and valuable services as members of the publishing committee.*

The thanks of the Society were also voted to the Rev. Mr. Porter for the kind and acceptable manner in which he had served as Recording Secretary *pro tempore* during Mr. Dexter's absence.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., gave some good reasons why the Society should excuse him from the Memoir of the Hon. John C. Gray, which he had been appointed to prepare; and, on his suggestion, that duty was assigned to Mr. John C. Ropes.

The appointment of a member to prepare a Memoir of Mr. Emerson was postponed until the next meeting.

* Dr. Green was appointed on this committee in December, 1865, and Mr. Smith in July, 1868. Their retirement at this time, although not unexpected (as they continued after the Annual Meeting only to await the return of the Recording Secretary from the South), was reluctantly agreed to by that officer and by the Society. — Eds.

Colonel HENRY LEE presented copies of Whitefield's "Homes of our Forefathers," and Tolman's "12 Sketches of Old Boston Buildings," and remarked that both these books possessed considerable interest and value, and the latter had also some artistic merit.

Mr. C. C. SMITH announced that the new volume of the Winthrop Papers was nearly through the press, and that it would be ready for distribution among members some time during the summer vacation.

He communicated also Memoirs of Dr. Thomas H. Webb, by Mr. Quincy, and Mr. George S. Hillard, by General Palfrey. These memoirs follow the record of this meeting.

Remarks on various topics were made by Messrs. Ames, Lee, T. C. Amory, Deane, and Paige; and the Society adjourned until September.

MEMOIR

OF

THOMAS HOPKINS WEBB, M.D.

BY J. P. QUINCY.

DR. WEBB, the son of Thomas Smith and Martha (Hopkins) Webb, was born in Providence, Sept. 21, 1801. His father was one of the founders, as well as the first president, of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston, an association which initiated and has greatly promoted the musical cultivation of the city. The subject of this sketch was fitted for college by Daniel Staniford of Boston, and entered Brown University in 1817. Among his classmates were Dr. S. G. Howe and Dr. Amos Binney, and young Webb soon found that he shared those tastes of the latter gentleman which impelled him to the pursuit of natural science. After graduating came the study of medicine with Dr. John Mackie, of Providence, and a degree from the Harvard Medical School, taken in 1825.

It was the scientific research connected with the profession of his adoption, rather than the details of its practice, which interested the young doctor. For a period of nearly ten years, during which his sign was to be seen in the city of Providence, Dr. Webb's most zealous services seem to have been given to the Franklin Society. This was an association for the cultivation of science, to the proceedings of which he was a constant contributor. But his special studies in chemistry and geology did not prevent incursions into the domains of history and archæology, and he became an active officer of the Rhode Island Historical Society. As secretary of this body Dr. Webb conducted the correspondence with Professor Charles C. Rafn, of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, respecting the "Dighton writing rock" and other alleged Scandinavian inscriptions of kindred interest. His letters are preserved in the memoirs of his own Society as well as in that ponderous quarto, the "*Antiquitates Americanæ*," published at Copenhagen in 1837.

Dr. Webb was one of the projectors and founders of the Providence Athenæum, at present the largest library in Rhode Island. Hon. John R. Bartlett and the Rev. Dr. F. A. Farley, his associates in this good enterprise, are yet living to testify to the value of his services. He became the first librarian of the institution of which he was so largely the creator, and held the editorial chair of the Providence "Journal" during a period of three years.

A subsequent removal to Boston led Dr. Webb to connect himself with the publishing house of Marsh, Capen, & Lyon, which was engaged in the publication of works relating to popular education, as well as of that stimulating periodical, the "Common School Journal" under the editorship of Horace Mann. Financial and family troubles, unnecessary to particularize, followed hard upon this new occupation; they gave Dr. Webb that experience of the tests and trials of life which it is probably not wholesome altogether to escape.

In 1850 Mr. Bartlett, the Government Commissioner for running and marking the boundary line between the United States and Mexico, appointed his old friend secretary of the Commission; and a most efficient officer he proved to be, adding to the full work of his position the collecting of zoological and mineralogical specimens to illustrate his favorite studies.

In the struggle to repel slavery from the soil of Kansas, Dr. Webb was a hearty participant. As secretary of the Emigrant Aid Society he visited the Territory and organized many companies of settlers. His little guide-book for emigrants was a modest but efficient factor in repelling aggressions which sought to nationalize the Southern institution.

Dr. Webb's latest services were given to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, of which he was the secretary and principal executive officer. His exertions largely contributed to the success of the institution in popularizing scientific education. This was a work upon which his heart had always been set, and to its accomplishment the energies of the closing years of life were worthily devoted.

Dr. Webb was married in 1833 to Lydia Athearn of Nantucket. He died Aug. 2, 1866, leaving no children.

The surviving friends of Dr. Webb speak with respect of his manly character, and testify to his earnest work in causes which penetrated him. He was the associate and helper of men whose names are better known than his own. To say the truth, I find that the sixteen years which have elapsed since his death have somewhat blurred his personality even

to eyes that are in search of it. But posthumous fame, and the biographical parasites which feed upon it, are easily dispensed with by any man who has a right to feel that his patient, unobtrusive labors have tended to lift society to a higher level.

M E M O I R
OF THE
HON. GEORGE STILLMAN HILLARD, LL.D.
BY FRANCIS W. PALFREY.

GEORGE STILLMAN HILLARD was born at Machias, Maine, Sept. 22, 1808, and died at Longwood, Massachusetts, Jan. 21, 1879. He was the son of John Hillard, by his wife Sarah, who was the daughter of George Stillman, of Machias, brigadier-general commanding the second brigade of the tenth division of the militia of Massachusetts at the close of the eighteenth century. He passed two years of his boyhood at Lebanon, Connecticut, as a pupil of the Rev. Zebulon Ely, and he was afterward at the Derby Academy, at Hingham, of which the Rev. Daniel Kimball was the principal. In 1822, 1823, and 1824 he was at the Boston Latin School, where in both 1823 and 1824 he won the Lloyd gold medal. In 1824 he entered the Freshman class at Harvard College, and in 1828 he graduated there with the first honors. Among his classmates were Dr. Henry I. Bowditch, Chief Justice Gilchrist, and the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

After leaving college, he studied law at Northampton, and at the same time acted as a teacher in the same town, at the Round Hill School, so called, of which Mr. George Bancroft was then the principal. He then studied law at the Dane Law School in Cambridge, and received the degree of LL.B. from the university there in 1832. The year before he had taken the degree of Master of Arts at Cambridge, and on the occasion of doing so had delivered an Address upon the Dangers to which the Minds of young men in our Country are exposed.

After leaving the law school at Cambridge, he entered the office of the late Charles Pelham Curtis, in Boston, and was admitted to practice in April of the following year.

Soon after his admission to the bar, he became an editor of the "Christian Register." In 1834 he took a law office with

his friend Charles Sumner, at 4 Court Street, Boston, and became the editor of the "Jurist." He continued to practise law at No. 4 Court Street for more than twenty years.

In 1835 he was elected a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and in the same year he married Miss Susan Tracy, daughter of Judge Samuel Howe, of Northampton.

In 1844 he helped to found the Boston Latin School Association.

In 1845, and again in 1846 and 1847, he was elected a member of the Common Council of the city of Boston. He represented old Ward 6. In 1846 and 1847 he was President of the Council, and held that office till July of the latter year, when he resigned it on going to Europe. This visit to Europe led to the composition of his "Six Months in Italy," which was well received in America, and republished in England.

In 1850 he became a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, and in 1853 of the "Constitutional Convention." His course in the Senate of Massachusetts received high praise from Daniel Webster, as may be read at page 256 of vol. v. of Webster's Works. In 1853 or the following year, his "Letters of Silas Standfast to his friend Jotham" were printed. They may now be found in the volume of Discussions on the Constitution proposed to the People of Massachusetts by the Convention of 1853.

In December, 1853, he was chosen City Solicitor of the city of Boston, and he held that office till August, 1855, when another was elected in his place, through the predominance which the Know Nothing party, so called, then acquired.

In 1856 he removed his law office from No. 4 Court Street to Niles's Block, in School Street, and on that occasion he wrote the well-known "Farewell to No. 4," which was printed in the March number of the "Law Reporter" of that year. It is understood that at some time in the spring of 1857 he became an owner and chief editor of the Boston "Courier," and that his connection with that paper continued until April 23, 1861.

In the autumn of 1866 he was appointed United States Attorney for the District of Massachusetts. He entered upon the duties of that office on the twenty-second day of October, 1866, and ceased to perform them on the second of January, 1871, when his successor took the oath of office. He then formed a partnership for the practice of the law with Messrs.

Henry D. Hyde and M. F. Dickinson, Jr., under the name of Hillard, Hyde, and Dickinson.

He was a Trustee of the Boston Public Library from April 11, 1872, to Nov. 23, 1876.

In 1835 he delivered the Fourth of July oration before the authorities of the city of Boston; in 1843, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard College, an oration upon the Relation of the Poet to his Age; in August, 1845, before the American Institute of Instruction at Hartford, a lecture upon the Connection between Geography and History, which was published in 1846; in November, 1850, before the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, an address upon the Dangers and Duties of the Mercantile Profession; on the 22d of December, 1851, before the New England Society in the city of New York, a discourse on the Spirit of the Pilgrims; in 1852, before the authorities of the city of Boston, an Eulogy upon Daniel Webster; in 1860, an address before the Norfolk County Agricultural Society; in 1866, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Amherst College, an oration upon the Political Duties of the Educated Classes.

From the year 1831, when he published in the "North American Review" an article upon "Clarence, a Tale," to January, 1864, when his last contribution to that periodical, a review of Ticknor's *Life of Prescott*, was printed in it, he wrote for it with moderate frequency, his papers numbering twenty three in all, and treating of a great variety of subjects, — biography, oratory, courses of study, law, poetry, education, romance, history, and divinity. He also wrote for Buckingham's "New England Magazine" a series of Literary Portraits, "Selections from the Papers of an Idler," &c.; for the *New American Cyclopædia*, biographical sketches of Edward Everett and Rufus Choate; and for the "Christian Examiner," articles on various subjects. A paper of his on the "Life and Adventures of Captain John Smith" was published in the second volume of Sparks's *American Biography* in 1834.

In 1839 he published an edition of the *Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, which was pronounced by Mr. George Ticknor to be "the best edition yet known." In 1840 he published a translation of Guizot's *Essay on Washington*. On the 26th of October, 1843, he became a member of the *Massachusetts Historical Society*, and to their *Proceedings* he contributed *Memoirs of Joseph Story, President Felton, and James Savage*. In 1844 his *Memoir of Henry R. Cleveland* was privately printed. In 1847 he delivered before the *Lowell*

Institute in Boston a course of twelve lectures upon the character and writings of John Milton. In 1856 he began the publication of "Hillard's Readers," which were extremely well received, and which, it is said, were used in Brazil. In the same year he published "Selections from the Writings of Walter Savage Landor," and printed for private distribution his Memoir of James Brown. In 1857 Trinity College, of Hartford, Connecticut, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. In 1864 he published a life of General McClellan, then the Democratic candidate for the office of President of the United States. In 1866 he contributed a Memoir of Colonel Fletcher Webster to the "Harvard Memorial Biographies." In 1873 his Memoir of Jeremiah Mason was privately printed. In the last years of his life he began the preparation of a book to be called "The Life and Letters of George Ticknor," but he did not live to complete it. He had a severe stroke of paralysis in 1873, and though he rallied from it sufficiently to have a good share of the enjoyment of life, he never recovered from it entirely. He removed to a pleasant house in Longwood, near Boston, and there, on the 14th of January, 1879, he had a second stroke, after which his life was prolonged only one week.

It is proper to call Mr. Hillard a lawyer, because he followed the profession of the law for the period of forty years, and did not abandon it till he was disabled by disease. He attained a highly respectable position at the bar, but he was more distinguished as a public speaker than as a lawyer. He was also a very good scholar; but it was as a man of letters and a conversationist that he was really eminent. He was too conscientious to neglect his law business, and too sensible, capable, and diligent to fail to be of service to his clients; but the tastes and accomplishments which made him the noteworthy man he was, were hindrances rather than helps to him as a counsellor and an advocate. Business came to him all his life, but much of it undoubtedly came from those who were rather attracted by the man than impressed by the lawyer. His name does not appear in a reported case for some ten years after his admission to practice, and not so often as once a year for the next sixteen years. The hard work of the profession, the laborious, thorough preparation without which even genius is not effective, were not only not to his taste, but they were almost impossible to such a man. He said in the Memoir of Mr. Savage which he prepared for this Society, "The law demands from its votaries an exclusive devotion, and this he was never prepared to give."

Mutato nomine fabula de te, &c. The thought is familiar, but it is incomplete and inadequate as applied to Mr. Hillard. He was not only not prepared to give this devotion, but he was not permitted to give it. The charm of his society was such that his office was not only frequented by men of talent and accomplishment, but positively burdened by those who came simply to hear him, and who brought no gifts; and his disposition was so yielding and so kind that he let the idlers and listeners linger as long as they would. When he found himself in the actual presence of the Court, his faculties seemed to be quickened by the situation, and he was alert and ready; and sometimes, in the argument of a doubtful and important case, his whole nature was aroused, and he became earnest, eloquent, and intense. He had many of the higher qualities of the advocate. He would probably have been a better lawyer if he had been a less attractive man, but it would have required a sterner nature than his to resist the fascination which books and cultivated society possessed for him.

He was a true and ardent lover of books. He would take a handsome volume in his hands and almost fondle it, and his love of reading was a strong and lasting passion. His memory was retentive and ready, and his taste was delicate, while his humor was abundant. These qualities, and the acquirements which they led to his making, made his conversation delightful. His health was never robust, and his affairs by no means always prosperous, but his kindness and cheerfulness and geniality were very great, and when, with his quaint smile lighting up his face, he was bringing forth out of his treasure things new and old, his companionship was charming to the last point. He was not rapid of speech, nor crisp, nor terse. He was not epigrammatic nor given to repartee. Still less was he a maker of puns. He did not give sententious utterance to weighty thought. His talk was fluent and easy, and habitually infused with a gentle cheerfulness. It was made singularly rich and varied by his ready and felicitous use of the ample material with which his extensive reading supplied him, though he was not much given to literal quotation. It was rather his habit to weave into the language he employed apt words and phrases which had struck his fancy, and to assimilate and reproduce illustrations gathered from the wide field of English literature. Thus it was necessary that one should be a *belles-lettres* scholar of more than common accomplishment to determine, as his speech flowed gently on, what was original with him, and

what was transplanted, — the more so that he employed none of the arts of the professional conversationist to draw attention to the fact that he was going to say something worth the hearing. No flourish of trumpets, in voice or manner, demanded silence for the coming utterance. He would say simply and naturally that you must get at Browning's poetry as you dig a grave in frosty weather, — with a pickaxe; or that Catholicism in this country is no more like Catholicism in Europe than a domestic cat is like a Bengal tiger; and pass on with the genial current of his talk with no more than a pause for a smile at the neatness of his own expression, and of kindly recognition of the pleasure with which he saw it greeted. Bread-winning at the bar was not the employment for such a man as he. He was more fitted to shine in and carry forward a cultivated society, than to mingle in the stern struggles of the court, or to concentrate his faculties upon the abstruse and colorless problems of the consulting room. For the full development of a nature such as his, and of the tastes and accomplishments which belonged to his nature as does the shadow to the substance, his lot in life should have been different and more benignant. He should have had more health, more leisure, and more means.

He was the opposite of a robust man, physically. His face and figure revealed the absence of warm blood and firm flesh. His peculiar walk showed his want of masculine vigor. Though he was seldom if ever a prey to painful or dangerous maladies, he was a frequent sufferer from severe and most annoying colds. His way of life was ordinarily extremely simple, though he had a keen enjoyment of the purple side of life. He returned once from a visit to Newport, in a state of the highest pleasurable excitement, describing it as an earthly paradise, in which no one had less than a million. With such a body, such a mind, such tastes, and such a position in life as his were, one would have been prepared to see him constantly displaying nervous irritability; and it was most creditable to him, and most indicative of the extreme kindness and gentleness of his nature, that such exhibitions were quite unknown.

He had but one child, a boy, born in the year 1836, and whom he had the misfortune to lose at the early age of two and a half years.

It may be a question whether a memoir of a man who has achieved a certain distinction as an orator should not give in some detail the measure and kind and justice of that distinction; but in the case of a citizen of the United States, a land

where men who speak well in public are common, and men who speak extremely well are not rare, it would seem to be the better opinion that nothing but really exceptional eminence would require more than such brief mention as has already been made of the occasions upon which Mr. Hillard addressed large audiences, and the subjects upon which he spoke. His orations and addresses belonged to the class to which the term "occasional" applies. They were the finished expression of the thought of a cultivated man of letters, and not the utterances of a man who spoke because he could not keep silent. He never filled a high office, and he never was prominent as a politician. Indeed, in the period which preceded the war of secession, he drifted away from the general course of public sentiment. This was partly owing to a great loyalty to the old Whig party, and partly to the influence of certain social ties. It was at this time that he became a proprietor and chief editor of the Boston "Courier," but he severed his connection with it in 1861. The enterprise brought to him little but disappointment and annoyance.

Those who knew Mr. Hillard well, look back upon his life with affectionate regret. He was very kind and very charming, but he was not in his right place in life. He had many of the gifts and accomplishments of Charles Lamb, but he was not so much the superior of Lamb in prosperity as he was in character. He was a long way from being one of those on whom lavish Fortune emptied all her horn. He had not strength enough, health enough, means enough, or success enough. He was an ornament to the society of the town in which he lived, and his death left a gap which it was not and is not easy to fill.

We are happy to enrich this Memoir by the addition of the following lines by our Corresponding Member, Mr. William W. Story :—

GEORGE STILLMAN HILLARD.

IN MEMORIAM

One other link that held me to the past
Hath snapped asunder. I have seen the last
Of that kind face that ever turned to me
A smile of friendship and benignity.
We ne'er shall know those pleasant days again
When we two wandered far in the demesne
Of the ideal world, and waved our wings
In the free air of youth's imaginings.
Glad hours they were, when we the crabbed book
Of legal study laid aside, and took
Long rambles through the sunny lands of song,
And talked of poets and the writers strong
That raftered our grand English with their prose,
Or the great artists in the past that rose
Like constellations, and securely shine
Beyond all envy in their fame divine.

You in these silent regions were my guide,
And I, content and happy at your side,
Listened and learned and followed where you led,
Fired by the eloquent, high words you said,
Through the Elysian dream-land of the dead.

Ah! golden time of early morning light,
When life before us from youth's happy height
Showed grand and fair, with far-off sunny gleams
Of glancing hopes and slopes of blissful dreams
And radiant tints that Love and Feeling lent
To the dim distance where our thoughts were bent.
All was before us then, all was surprise;
There was a sweetness even in our sighs, —
They were but longings for the joy to be,
The fine impatience of futurity,
Not the heart-broken murmur of regret
For what was lost, for glories that had set.

As back my memory wanders, in my ear
Still sounds that voice of yours so high and clear,
With its fine, ringing tones, and cultured phrase,
That charmed and cheered me in those early days;
That slender, stooping form again I trace;
That open brow, that scholarly pale face;
Those nervous movements of a spirit fine
Treading with critic care the thought-spun line.

Again I seem to scent the faint perfume
That used to haunt that private inner room
Where at my desk I sat and wrote and read
With wandering thoughts and idly dreaming head, —
The odor of the books, the office dust,
The dry peculiar legal smell of must ;
The casual flower that lent a subtle grace,
As of another world, unto the place ;
The sunshine sifting veiled and silent through
The filmy panes ; the bustling fly that flew
And droned and drummed ; the scratching of the pen ;
The rustling papers turning now and then ;
The voices coming with a murmurous hum
From friends and clients out of *Sumner's* room,
That drew me from my books, and his full voice
Manly and strong, that made the heart rejoice ;
Oft too, your kindly word, your gentle smile,
As laying down your pen you would beguile
Some bright half-hour with ready, fluent talk,
And to and fro across the office walk.
There too, at times, my *Father's* sunlit face
Looked in and filled with radiance all the place,
And cleared the air, and passing, left behind
A sense of flowers and music on the wind.
There *Choate*, with his gaunt face and clustering hair,
Waved like a scimitar his humor rare.
There *Felton*, glad and buoyant, oft was seen,
There *Longfellow*, accomplished and serene,
There *Whittier's* fine-cut face and piercing glance,
Or *Moley*, with his air of high romance,
Or eager *Bancroft*, with his accents high,
Or quiet *Hawthorne*, sensitive and shy.
There learned *Lieber* oft for hours would sit,
Or *Holmes* flash in, electric, charged with wit,
Or *Appleton*, the very bulls-eye hit
With random-seeming arrows from his bow,
Or Spanish *Ticknor* or Hellenic *Howe*.
And then at intervals, with cliff-like brow
And caverned eyes, the black and thunderous face
Of *Webster* gloomed and gleamed, or *Prescott's* grace
A genial charm around the chamber threw,
Or *Lowell*, with his laurels budding new
Mid sunny curls, life's triumphs just begun,
Or the poised calm of Attic *Emerson*.
There *Garrison's* bland face at times was seen,
And fiery *Phillips*, *Gray* with courteous mien,
Dexter's bronzed face, dark curls and sunken eyes,
And all the *Lorings*, all the *Curtises*,
And once the lambent eyes, the hallowed head,
Of *Allston*, by an inner dreamlight fed.
There stately *Quincy*, *Greenleaf*, rich in lore
Of law, determined *Adams*, and a score
Of other faces we shall see no more
Gathering together met in converse free, —
A learned, rare, and brilliant company.

'T was mine to listen with an eager sense
To all their learning, wit, and eloquence ;
Mine but to gather up the rich largess
They squandered with such prodigal excess.

This is but faint mirage of vanished things
That taunting memory from the distance brings;
In that glad group that then drew joyous breath
Alas ! how many a cruel gap of death !
What lips are hushed, through which the poignant jest,
The winged thought, leaped living from the breast !
What eyes are dim that lightened then with life !
What voices hushed ! What spirits from the strife,
The joy, the sunshine of the world are fled
To join the unnumbered legions of the dead,
Gone, where Hope only follows, while Despair
Half closes the dark doors that open there ;
Gone, leaving memory here and there a gleam
Faint as a picture painted in a dream.

Oh, what a ruin ! Sad, so sad, and yet
Calm in the tender shadow of regret.
Life with its losses and its vanished hopes
A Colosseum seems of broken slopes,
Through whose dread gaps of ruin many a ghost
Wanders and whispers of the glories lost ;
Where, dim and far as in a dream, we hear
The exultant fremitus, the ringing cheer,
The tumult and the joy, the clash, the groan,
Then in an instant find ourselves alone, —
Only the wild weeds growing in each cleft,
Only the silence of the present left,
Only the sighing of the wind's soft breath,
Only the solitude and void of death.

Of our small group of three whose hours were passed
Working within those rooms, I am the last ;
Sumner has gone, and you are taken now.
When last we met, dark Death a sidelong blow
Had struck at you with almost fatal aim,
And life had loosed its hold and hope of fame ;
But sweet and calm slipped on the lingering day
In still content till you were called away.
It was a twilight peaceful, if not bright,
That heralded the silence of the night
With happy memories of a golden prime,
With thoughts that forward went beyond all Time.

Farewell ! dear friend. If hope be not all vain,
Somewhere, God help us, we shall meet again
In those ideal regions where so oft
With our vague longings we have soared aloft.
I do but come to throw upon your grave
These scentless flowers, the only ones I have.

W. W. STORY.

SEPTEMBER MEETING, 1882.

The stated meetings were resumed on Thursday, the 14th instant, at 3 o'clock P.M.; the senior Vice-President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair. The attendance of members was not so large as usual at the beginning of the meeting, as many wished to pay a last tribute of respect to a venerable associate, Dr. Chandler Robbins, whose funeral was appointed for this afternoon. The Society was officially represented at this funeral by Mr. Deane and Dr. Green, who served as pallbearers.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the June meeting, and it was accepted.

The Librarian reported the gifts to the Library during the summer vacation. These included volumes of their publications from the London Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Historical Society, and the New York Historical Society. The Rev. James Reed, of Boston, had presented a parcel of the manuscript papers of the late Captain John Percival, U.S.N., an able but somewhat eccentric officer.*

The VICE-PRESIDENT then spoke as follows : —

In coming together again after the suspension of our meetings for two months, we have to recognize the loss by death from our rolls of a Resident Member, and of two Honorary Members. Some of us have just been in attendance upon the funeral of the Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D., who died at his summer home in Weston, on Monday, the 11th inst. For the last few years he has been wholly deprived of sight, and was for several months visited by many infirmities. He had been a member of this Society for thirty-seven years, during seven of which he was its Recording Secretary, and for the thirteen years following he conducted its official correspondence, having been elected Corresponding Secretary in 1864, which office he resigned in 1877. His continued earnest interest in its work and objects has been touchingly

* These papers are contained in two bundles, indorsed by Captain Percival : "The Accounts of Thos. Murdock, James Thopson, Joshua Howell and Charles W. White, settled, and signed and sealed, thank God. Percival Trustee;" and "Letters and Papers relating to Edwards, and the different Trials brought by him and his coadjutors in villainy." Captain Percival entered the navy in 1809, and died in Dorchester, Sept.-17, 1862. — Eds.

exhibited to us by his patient presence and his quiet attention, for the most part in silence, at many of our meetings, even within this year. He had performed for the Society many laborious and valuable services, exercising industry, good judgment, a fine taste, thoroughness of research, and a supreme regard for accuracy in historical statements, in his office, and in his membership of committees on our publications.

At the time of his death Dr. Robbins was in his seventy-third year, he having been born in Lynn, Feb. 14, 1810, the son of an eminent physician. He graduated at Harvard in 1829, and having completed a theological course at Cambridge, was ordained in December, 1833, as successor of Ralph Waldo Emerson in the pastorate of the Second Church in this city. He was the author of a valuable History of this Church, in which he devoted a loving effort to the commemoration of the distinguished careers of his predecessors, Drs. Increase and Cotton Mather. He sought especially, as far as the truth of the record would allow, to relieve the latter from some of the disesteem and reproach which have attached to him in history, or in popular judgment.

After a ministry of forty-one years he resigned his office in 1874, and has since lived in retirement. His devout and affectionate spirit, his faithful pastoral services, his exclusive concentration of time and zeal upon his peculiar calling, without seeking notoriety in external concerns, gave to those who came nearest to him in domestic relations of a remarkably favored character, and to the members of his church and parish, grounds for the strongest attachment and respect. Of his literary works a full notice may be looked for in his memoir to be duly prepared for the Proceedings of this Society.

George Perkins Marsh, LL.D., American Minister to the court of Italy during the last twenty-one years, died while discharging with signal honor the functions of that office, on July 24, at Vallombrosa, Italy, in his eighty-second year. He was elected a Corresponding Member in 1858, and transferred to the Honorary list in 1875. His death, with warm expressions of respect and sympathy, was announced to our own government by that at which he represented it. He was born at Woodstock, Vermont, March 17, 1801. Graduating at Dartmouth in 1820, he studied and practised law at Burlington. Having done valued service in the executive council of his native State, he represented it in Congress from

1842 till, in 1849, he was commissioned by President Taylor, Resident Minister at Constantinople, his term being four years. Here he studiously availed himself of his opportunities for historical, linguistic, and severely critical studies, for which he had a strong natural proclivity, and in which he attained extraordinary results. In 1852 he was sent on a special government mission to Greece, winning high consideration and honors for his wisdom, intelligence, acquisitions, and diplomatic accomplishments. An interval of release from public service gave him leisure for indulging and improving his scholarly tastes and researches. He travelled extensively over northern and central Europe, earnestly studious of the Northern languages, especially the Scandinavian, in which he became a proficient and a high authority, opening his treasures to many grateful pupils. Returning home for a brief period, he gave his native State the benefit of his experience in many services. He published a Grammar of, and various magazine articles upon, Icelandic literature. A favorite study and theme of his for print and for address, in 1844, was "The Influence of the Goths in New England." In 1856 he published a very noteworthy volume on the Camel, and its adaptation for use on our Western plains. In 1858-59 he delivered a course of lectures at Columbia, and a second course before the Lowell Institute, in Boston, in 1860-61, on the English Language, not as a follower or a critic of others' methods, but with evidences and results of profound original research, and of acute analytical skill. In 1864 appeared his elaborate work entitled "Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Actions." Thus he proved himself a man of native mental capacities of the highest order, with conscientious fidelity, earnestness, and devotion in the acquisition and in the imparting of the severely won fruits of toil. It was, however, in the service to which he was commissioned by President Lincoln, in 1861, performed till his death, as the first diplomatic representative of our government with the new kingdom of Italy, that he has been most widely known, appreciated, and honored. In converse with him at Rome, many scholars of our own and of other countries must have been reminded of a man of like scholarly tastes and acquirements, once in that city as a diplomatist,—the historian Niebuhr. Mr. Marsh was attractive, instructive in intercourse, and helpful to his fellow-countrymen abroad and at home, privately and officially. He has won honor to our country as its representative.

Happening to be in Newport for the summer, I met there,

a fortnight ago, the Rev. Dr. R. J. Nevin, Minister of St. Paul's American Episcopal Church in Rome. As one of the executors of Mr. Marsh, he offered to me for examination a full manuscript catalogue of the library left by him as a part of his estate, which circumstances make fitting should be sold for the benefit of his family. It contains twelve thousand volumes. Of course, with a considerable miscellaneous and modern element, it includes a very large number of rare, valuable, ancient, and curious works, some of them of an unique character. It is rich in volumes in the Catalan, the Dutch, and the Scandinavian literature. The library should find a ready place and welcome in one of our universities.*

It is fit that we should respectfully put upon our records a mention of one now deceased, who in a long term of membership filled successively every office, including the presidency, of our sister Historical Society of the State of New York. Frederic de Peyster, a veritable Knickerbocker, of the truest type, died August 17, at Tivoli, New York, in his eighty-sixth year. His first ancestor in this country was Johannes de Peyster, a native of Haarlem, Holland, who came to New York, as a merchant, in 1645. His father, Frederic, as a Loyalist in our Revolutionary time, was an officer in one of the king's regiments here. Though the son could ably explain and stand for the rectitude of the paternal allegiance to the crown, he was himself a patriotic citizen of the republic. Being in his course as a student in Columbia College in 1812, he was captain of a company of his fellows, and labored on some field-works. He was for many years a State military officer. He was educated for the bar, and was eminent in high legal stations. Columbia gave him the degree of LL.D. in 1867. He was charged with various trusts in civil, ecclesiastical, and benevolent institutions, and closed his long life highly respected and honored.

The following Resolution was reported from the Council:—

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society have learned with sincere regret of the death of their late associate, the Rev. Dr. Chandler Robbins, for many years a faithful officer of the Society; and that Mr. Charles C. Smith be appointed to prepare a Memoir of him for the Proceedings.

* It is stated in the newspapers that Mr. Frederick Billings, of Woodstock, Vermont, has purchased Mr. Marsh's library, and that he will present it to the University of Vermont, of which he is an alumnus, and of which Mr. Marsh was a trustee during his residence at Burlington.

In seconding this Resolution, the Rev. Dr. DEXTER said he hoped it would not be thought in bad taste for him—a member of a religious communion other than that immediately bereaved in the death of Dr. Robbins, and one which in former days had been sharply separated from his—to testify how sincere was the regard entertained by Orthodox Congregationalists for the character, and how high was their appreciation of the work, of our late associate. It had been already remarked that among the special labors of his useful life was a careful, accurate, and candid History of the Second Congregational Church of Boston, of which he was so long pastor. In the course of that History it came in his way to refer to the character and services of two of his eminent predecessors in that historic pulpit, Drs. Increase and Cotton Mather. We all understand how the conflicts of opinion have raged around these men, particularly the younger of the two; and how fashionable it has been, in certain quarters, to cast obloquy upon Cotton Mather as a pedant, and, in the matter of witchcraft, a dupe, if not a conspirator and a malignant. But Dr. Robbins portrayed the lives and labors of these men with so ample a scholarship, so appreciative a spirit, and so thoroughly candid a temper, as to win the hearts of intelligent Christians of the Orthodox persuasion, and to make for himself a place in their confidence and affection which he securely held, with ever-increasing strength, to the end of his days. Perhaps no man out of the ranks of their own immediate affiliations will be more sincerely mourned by that portion of the Congregational ministry still substantially retaining their ancient faith, than Chandler Robbins. Again begging pardon if what he had said should seem to border on a tone of remark unusual here, the speaker expressed the hope that all of us who, like Dr. Robbins, represent names and lineage which are dear to the historic spirit of New England may as worthily remember the past, and as usefully work for the future.

Mr. DEANE said:—

Mr. Chairman,—I should like to say a few words concerning our late member, Dr. Robbins, whose death has been announced at this meeting. His departure brings back to my recollection some things which I should like to speak of. As executive officers of this Society we were brought into most intimate relations for many years, and I can bear testimony to the faithful and conscientious service which he

rendered here. Every member of thirty years' standing knows that when Mr. Winthrop became President in 1855 a new era was opened for the Society. I avail myself of the absence of the President at this time to say this. Through his masterly executive skill the Society was regenerated. A condition of pervading uncleanness and disorder gave place to cleanliness and order. To accomplish all this, money had to be raised, for the Society was poor, and the services of an additional assistant in the Library had to be engaged. An attempt was made to make the valuable treasures of the Society more accessible, and their place of deposit more attractive. A new catalogue of the books and manuscripts was begun. It happened that I was chairman of the Standing Committee that year, and Dr. Robbins was a member of it. I well remember the time and labor spent in the attempt to bring order out of chaos. Dr. Robbins was chairman of the Standing Committee in the following year, and what he did in continuing the good work here begun may in part be gathered from his official report rendered at the close, and published in the Proceedings. An additional and extra service devolved upon him that year. In August, 1856, Mr. Dowse, through Mr. Livermore, presented his magnificent library to the Society, and after his death, a few months later, a special room had to be fitted up here for the reception of the books. This was done under the direction of a special committee, of which Dr. Robbins was chairman, and the books were transferred to their new and elegant repository in time for the Annual Meeting in April, 1857. Some of the members will remember the meeting on that day. Alas! the roll of the Society contains the names of but twelve members now living who could have been present at that meeting. After the business of the Annual Meeting had been transacted, Dr. Robbins, at the close of his report, delivered the key of the Dowse Library to Mr. Livermore, as the executor of Mr. Dowse. Mr. Livermore, in a few modest and appropriate words addressed to the Chair, proposed that the Society should now proceed to take possession of the Dowse Library. He therefore delivered the key to the President, who invited Mr. Quincy and Mr. Savage, the senior members of the Society, to marshal the newly elected officers and the members to the new room, now thrown open; and, after all were seated, delivered an interesting and graceful address suited to the occasion, and concluded by reading a letter from the executors of Mr. Dowse announcing a gift to the Society of ten thousand dollars, the income of which was to be used to enable the Society to fulfil the trust

imposed upon it in accepting the care of the Dowse Library. I have said that a catalogue of the books and manuscripts of the Society was commenced at this time. The work was done by our admirable assistant librarian, Dr. John Appleton. Dr. Robbins was untiring in his care and oversight of it from the beginning, answering questions and settling difficulties; and he was chairman of the committee to whom the work was intrusted while it was passing through the press. I was joined with him on that committee. In a letter to me written in September, 1859, when the first volume of the catalogue was about to be issued, he said, "It would be a great satisfaction to me to be able to relieve my conscience of its reproaches for having spent so much time, in one way and another, upon the catalogue, from the time when I was chairman of the Standing Committee to the present." The second volume was issued in the following year. Dr. Robbins was chosen Recording Secretary in 1857, and held that office for seven years. Beside discharging the ordinary duties of the office, he was also the editor of the Society's Proceedings, and four volumes were issued under his faithful care. In 1864 he was chosen Corresponding Secretary, and I succeeded him as Recording Secretary. For thirteen years thenceforward we sat together at our round table, as the monthly meetings came round, flanking our President on his right and left. Indeed, at other times, almost any day at high noon, we were quite likely to meet "at the rooms," and to be joined by the President and other officers and members, where the interests of the Society were considered and kindred themes discussed. No one had the well-being of the Society more at heart than Dr. Robbins, and to his excellent judgment and good taste the Society owes much. His never-failing courtesy was a marked characteristic. He held a ready and graceful pen, and the notes and annotations to the publications intrusted to his editorial care were written with ease and with abundant illustration.

His last great bereavement, the loss of sight, which was succeeded by the obscuration of his fine intellect, was borne by him with the utmost cheerfulness. I never heard a murmur fall from his lips. I could not refrain, Mr. Chairman, from adding to your own tribute this brief memorial to his worth.*

* Mr. Deane was prevented from offering these remarks at the meeting, as he was engaged in officially representing the Society as a pall-bearer at the funeral of Dr. Robbins, which occurred at the same hour. He has yielded to the wish and judgment of the Committee, and allows them to be printed as part of the record. — Eds.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Dr. ELLIS announced the nomination of the Rev. James Freeman Clarke to prepare the Memoir of the late Mr. Emerson. W. E. Hartpole Lecky, LL.D., was elected an Honorary Member, and Professor James Bryce, D.C.L., a Corresponding Member.

A volume of Collections, containing the Fourth Part of the "Winthrop Papers," was placed upon the table, and, on motion of the Rev. Mr. Porter, the thanks of the Society were voted to the Committee who had prepared the volume. The following vote of thanks was also passed :—

Voted, That the thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society are returned to Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., Esq., for his generous contribution to their Collections in assuming the whole cost of the fourth volume of the Winthrop Papers.

The Hon. SAMUEL C. COBB, in behalf of the committee of the subscribers to a portrait of Mr. Winthrop, to be placed in the Capitol at Washington, asked leave to deposit in the Society's archives the original subscription list, Mr. Winthrop's reply to the request to sit for the portrait, the official vote of Congress accepting the picture, and other papers relating to the matter.

These documents, which possess some special interest for the members of this Society, here follow :—

Boston, January, 1882.

The undersigned, recognizing the important service rendered to the country by the Honorable ROBERT C. WINTHROP in his admirable oration upon the occasion of the National Centennial Celebration, at Yorktown, Virginia, in October last, and desiring to manifest their great respect and personal regard for an honored citizen of Massachusetts, hereby contribute the sums set against their respective names for the purpose of procuring a portrait of Mr. Winthrop to be placed in the Capitol, at Washington, the scene of his early political distinction.

John D. Long.
E. R. Hoar.
Samuel C. Cobb.
W. Amory.
William Perkins.
W. G. Russell.
H. W. Paine.
Franklin Haven.
William Gaston.
Robert R. Bishop.

Robert D. Smith.
John L. Garduer.
Otis Norcross.
Charles Merriam.
Leverett Saltonstall.
George Gardner.
Phillips Brooks.
William B. Rogers.
Samuel A. Green.
James L. Little.

George C. Richardson.
J. Ingersoll Bowditch.
John L. Bremer.
George O. Shattuck.
Lemuel Shaw.
John J. Clarke.
Winslow Warren.
Henry L. Pierce.
Benj. S. Rotch.
Theodore Lyman.

Samuel Johnson.	Henry Whitman.	Nathaniel W. Curtis.
George P. Upham.	C. F. Adams, Jr.	Roger Wolcott.
George D. Howe.	Charles C. Smith.	John T. Coolidge.
James S. Amory.	Thomas Talbot.	Josiah Wheelwright.
Thomas Lamb.	J. Edwards.	Thos. G. Frothingham.
Samuel G. Snelling.	J. L. Stackpole.	T. G. Appleton.
Augustus T. Perkins.	Robert Treat Paine, Jr.	O. W. Holmes.
Benjamin C. White.	J. B. Thomas.	Edmund H. Bennett.
Robert M. Cushing.	Mahlon D. Spaulding.	Samuel L. Crocker.
Alexander H. Rice.	William W. Greenough.	John C. Ropes.
H. P. Kidder.	J. Putnam Bradlee.	John C. Gray.
F. H. Peabody.	R. M. Morse, Jr.	Charles P. Curtis.
O. W. Peabody.	Francis A. Peters.	James H. Beal.
F. E. Parker.	Joseph A. Laforme.	A. S. Wheeler.
A. P. Martin.	Marshall P. Wilder.	Frederick L. Ames.
Fred. H. Bradlee.	Charles W. Eliot.	H. Stockton.
S. Bartlett.	Nathaniel Thayer.	Wm. S. Dexter.
James Freeman Clarke.	H. H. Hunnewell.	Charles D. Homans.
Frederic W. Lincoln.	James Guild.	Robert H. Stevenson.
William Minot.	Abbott Lawrence.	John F. Anderson.
Wm. Endicott, Jr.	Charles Francis Adams.	Henry B. Rogers.
Peleg W. Chandler.	Henry Lee.	S. Endicott Peabody.
Frederick O. Prince.	D. R. Whitney.	G. W. Blagden.
S. K. Lothrop.	Wm. S. Appleton.	David P. Kimball.
F. M. Weld.	George Dexter.	Charles F. Choate.
Ezra Farnsworth.	J. Q. Adams.	Alexander Agassiz.
Samuel B. Rindge.	Alpheus Hardy.	Henry W. Longfellow.
S. Parkman Dexter.	Arthur T. Lyman.	Wm. C. Endicott.
Charles H. Dalton.	Wm. R. Robeson.	Thomas Motley.
Nathaniel J. Bradlee.	George R. Minot.	Arthur Dexter.
Amos A. Lawrence.	S. W. Marston.	Francis Parkman.
Charles Faulkner.	N. Thayer, Jr.	R. W. Hooper.
S. D. Warren.	William Parsons.	Charles R. Codman.
Jacob C. Rogers.	W. W. Clapp.	Henry Winthrop Sargent.
Wm. C. Rogers.	James C. Davis.	Charles L. Pierson.
John Cumings.	John C. Phillips.	Nathaniel Walker.
A. O. Bigelow.	Isaac Thacher.	Theodore Chase.
Augustus Lowell.	C. P. Hemenway.	George M. Barnard.
Samuel R. Payson.	T. Quincy Browne.	C. H. Joy.
Charles H. Parker.	Thomas E. Proctor.	Timothy T. Sawyer.
George E. Ellis.	Edward Bangs.	W. Powell Mason.
Robert Codman.	J. W. Balch.	Ellis Ames.
Henry C. Weston.	F. L. Higginson.	Edward Lawrence.
Charles Deane.	C. A. Whittier.	T. H. Perkins.
George Lewis.	Arthur W. Blake.	Stephen Salisbury.
F. Gordon Dexter.	George B. Chase.	Chandler Robbins.
Richard Olney.	W. D. Pickman.	Joshua M. Sears.
Charles U. Cotting.	Henry A. Whitney.	E. D. Peters.
Francis W. Palfrey.	E. Pierson Beebe.	George Peabody.

Boston, 30 January, 1882.

The Honorable ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

MY DEAR SIR,—The Paper, of which I enclose a copy, will give you sufficient information of an enterprise in which your neighbors and friends take a warm interest; and I am authorized on their behalf to

ask your consent to the execution of the plan, and that you will select the artist, and arrange with him for giving the necessary sittings, at your earliest convenience. I remain, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL C. COBB.

The Honorable SAMUEL C. COBB.

Boston, 8 February, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR, — The Paper which accompanied your kind note of the 30th ultimo calls for the most grateful acknowledgments.

I am deeply sensible to so unexpected a tribute from those whose good opinion and friendly regard must ever be precious to me.

Such an array of eminent names, of all professions and parties, recognizing my late oration at Yorktown as "an important service rendered to the country," lends a value to the Paper altogether beyond the personal distinction which it proposes for me, and I would willingly have had the tribute end with that expression.

Yet I know not how to decline the invitation to allow my portrait to take its place, under such agreeable auspices, in the line of Speakers at Washington, according to the arrangement recently made for one of the corridors of the Capitol. No art, indeed, can obliterate the traces of the more than thirty years which have elapsed since it was my privilege, as a young man, to occupy the Chair of the House of Representatives of the United States. But I may well be content that this early honor should be associated with my effort, as an old man, to illustrate the crowning triumph of our Revolutionary struggle, by the generous aid of France, on the occasion which has called forth so distinguished a compliment from my fellow-citizens and friends.

Accept for them all, and for yourself, dear Sir, my sincere thanks, and believe me, with great regard,

Very faithfully yours,

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

Boston, June 10, 1882.

To the Honorable LEOPOLD MORSE and AMBROSE A. RANNEY,
Representatives in Congress from the City of Boston.

GENTLEMEN, — A large number of citizens of Massachusetts have united in procuring a portrait of the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives, which they wish to present to the United States, in recognition of his recent masterly oration at Yorktown, delivered at the request of Congress, and desire that it may be placed in the Speaker's Room in the Capitol at Washington.

On behalf of the donors, we would ask you to have the kindness to take charge of presenting the picture in the proper manner, and at a suitable time, to the House of Representatives.

We have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

JOHN D. LONG,	} Committee.
E. R. HOAR,	
SAMUEL C. COBB,	

47th Congress,
First Session.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

In the House of Representatives.

JUNE 27, 1882.

Resolved, That the Speaker be requested to inform the Honorable John D. Long, E. R. Hoar, and Samuel C. Cobb, committee of citizens of Massachusetts, of the satisfaction with which this House has received their present of the portrait of the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, Speaker of the Thirtieth Congress, and to assure them it shall be placed and preserved among those of the other distinguished men who, in times past, have presided over the House of Representatives.

Attest,

EDWARD MCPHERSON, *Clerk*.

SPEAKER'S ROOM, WASHINGTON,
6. 28. 82.

MESSRS. — I have the honor to enclose to you a resolution unanimously adopted by the House of Representatives on yesterday, expressing the satisfaction with which it has received your present of the portrait of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, a distinguished citizen of Massachusetts, once Speaker of the House of Representatives, &c.

Yours with high esteem,

J. WARREN KEIFER.

Hon. JOHN D. LONG, }
Hon. E. R. HOAR, } *Committee, &c.,*
Hon. SAMUEL C. COBB, } *Boston.*

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, June 29, 1882.

DEAR MR. COBB, — I forward the Resolution of the Federal House of Representatives, and Speaker Keifer's letter in the matter of the portrait of Mr. Winthrop.

Very truly yours,

JOHN D. LONG.

The RECORDING SECRETARY reported the death of a Corresponding Member, as follows: —

I have received, during the vacation, the news of the death of our oldest Corresponding Member, the senior upon the early roll of domestic associates. The Rev. Luther Halsey, D.D., died at Norristown, Pennsylvania, Oct. 29, 1880, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. Dr. Halsey was born at Schenectady, New York, Jan. 1, 1794, and was educated at Union College in that place, from which he graduated with the class of 1812. He began the study of medicine, but was led to change this profession for that of theology. He was ordained over the Presbyterian Church in Blooming Grove, Orange County, New York, and spent some years in a success-

ful pastorate there. In 1824 he was chosen professor of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Natural History, in the College of New Jersey, at Princeton; which position he resigned in 1829, at the call of the General Assembly of his church, to succeed the Rev. Dr. Janeway in the professorship of theology in the Western Theological Seminary, established at Allegheny, Pennsylvania, two years before. He was appointed to the chair of Ecclesiastical History and Church Polity in the Theological Seminary at Auburn, New York, in 1837, and resigned that place in 1844, to resume the pastoral charge of the Blooming Grove church. From 1847 to 1850 he acted as instructor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary of New York City. In 1878 he accepted the office of *Emeritus* Lecturer on Practical Theology in the Allegheny Seminary, and delivered at least one course of lectures there. But he had retired from the active duties of life. He received the degree of D.D. from Princeton College in 1831.

Dr. Halsey was elected a Corresponding Member of this Society in 1837, at the suggestion of President Timothy Alden.*

Mr. DEXTER continued:—

I have the pleasure of communicating copies of a few letters, written by Henry Wheaton, afterward the learned author of the "Elements of International Law," from France and England to his father, Mr. Seth Wheaton, of Providence, Rhode Island. Mr. Henry Wheaton was at the time these letters were written a very young man,—he completed his twentieth year during this visit to Europe. But his education, as was the custom of that day, had been hastened. He had already graduated from Brown University, and nearly completed the required term of three years in the law office of Nathaniel Searle in his native city, when his father gave him the unusual opportunity of going abroad for the advantages of foreign travel and study in the spring of 1805. He landed at St. Nazaire, at the mouth of the Loire, early in July, and, before going to Paris, spent some weeks at Poitiers, where he perfected his knowledge of the language, and attended diligently the tribunals of justice, of which there were several at that place. He crossed the Channel in November, and passed several months in London, where he was in the way of attending the impeachment trial of Lord Mel-

* There is a notice of Dr. Halsey in the New York "Observer" of Nov. 11, 1880.—Eds.

ville, and where he heard many decisions in the Court of Admiralty of cases affecting our commerce as neutrals. This sojourn in London and attendance on the English courts bore fruit, perhaps, in his earliest legal treatise, the "Digest of the Law of Maritime Captures and Prizes," published at New York in 1815.

These letters possess a good deal of interest, and will be a valuable contribution to our Proceedings. The copies were given to me by Mr. Wheaton's surviving daughter, Mrs. Charles C. Little, to whom the Society will be indebted for the privilege of printing them.

PAIMBŒUF, July 11, 1805.

MY DEAR FATHER, — I have the pleasure to inform you that we arrived at the mouth of the Loire on the 6th instant, and anchored in the morning at St. Nazaire. The length of our passage is attributable to the calms and adverse winds which accompanied us. Our ship drawing too much water to go up to Paimbœuf until a part of her cargo should be taken out, we came up here in a river boat yesterday, after being detained in the road of St. Nazaire three days at quarantine, to which all vessels coming from the States are subjected. The delay in procuring the verification of our passports at the Mayoralty of this place prevented our continuing the passage up to Nantes, which is ten or eleven leagues from this place; so that I am obliged to wait until eleven o'clock this morning for the departure of the barge, which will arrive at Nantes at four or five. In the mean time I am enabled to write you by the ship —, which sails this day for New York.

Nothing materially interesting happened during the voyage excepting that we were boarded by the British frigates "Topaze" and "Ceres," a few days before our arrival, and treated politely. The officers informed us of the arrival of the Rochefort squadron in France, and of the departure of the Toulonese, which sailed three months since, and that they were in great anxiety for the security of Jamaica, there having been a rumor that it was taken. I enjoyed very good health during the passage, and was comfortably situated, Captain Steel being very kind and attentive to me.

St. Nazaire is a wretched village, situated on the north side of the river, and inhabited by fishermen and peasants whose appearance presents nothing enviable to an inhabitant of America. All vessels drawing more than eighteen feet of water are obliged to remain there and lighten previously to going up to Paimbœuf. There were about eight ships at anchor in the road, — viz., Americans, Swedes, Danes, and Prussians, — some of which are loading with grain for Portugal, although this business is nearly finished, the scarcity having diminished in that country. The Loire is about three or four miles wide here, and presents on its banks an uninterrupted view of fields of grain preparing for the sickle, interspersed here and there with small groves of wood

and patches of vines. There is a great abundance of the fruits of the season, viz., cherries, pears, apricots, gooseberries, and currants; and it is said that the vines present the prospect of the greatest vintage that has been known for several years. This you know will be a misfortune of the most distressing nature to the proprietors and *vignerons*, by rendering the wine so cheap. Bread is three sols the pound (French); beef seven or eight sols, and excellent, though esteemed dear. A common laborer gets from fifteen to five and twenty sols per day; a carpenter, fifty sols.

I hope you will excuse this scrawl, it being written in haste and with such miserable pens and ink as I could procure in the *auberge* where I lodge. I shall write you more at length, and I hope more at my ease, from Nantes. In the mean time my love to my mother and sisters; and assure them that I bear them all in remembrance, and that no distance of time or place will ever efface them from my heart. Assure Martha and all our friends that they are not forgotten, and inform Uncle Levi that I shall write him from Nantes.

I remain, in haste, your affectionate son,

H. W.

NANTES, July 16, 1805.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote you by the way of New York from Paimbœuf, informing you of my safe arrival and good health, the continuance of which I am happy to confirm by this opportunity, and I think the voyage and the change of air will prove of lasting advantage to my constitution. Since my arrival here I have been very politely treated by Mr. Carmichael, to whom my uncle and Mr. G. W. Murray gave me letters. I shall remain here until the 19th, for the sake of going in the diligence with a young gentleman who came out passenger with us, and who departs for Bordeaux on that day. In the mean time I am losing nothing by this delay, for I employ the interval in the examination of such objects in the city and its vicinity as are worthy of attention, in company with a young man who writes in Mr. C.'s office, and whom he has introduced to me for this purpose. I have been to Indret, an island two leagues below Nantes, for the purpose of viewing the national foundry of cannon there, which is said to be the first in France. It was established by Mr. Wilkinson, an Englishman, and son-in-law to Dr. Priestley, and is extensive in its works and curious in its machinery. The boring is executed both by means of water and horses; by which last also the turning of the brass pieces is executed. From this place we walked three miles into the country to a vineyard of red wine, which we found in a flourishing state. There is a prospect of a very great vintage this season,—a misfortune to the proprietors, to whom the wine will be as water; and to the laboring people, who in the years when it is cheap intoxicate themselves and neglect their affairs. There has been a most extraordinary salubrity in the air and regularity in the weather since we arrived. The ground is, however, parched up with the drought, and the grass withered by it, although it is not by many degrees so warm as in America at the

same season, — at least, if I may judge by my own feelings. The country is cultivated most highly, and appears like one vast garden, interspersed here and there with groves and meadows. I shall write you more in detail by a less circuitous conveyance, and desire you will not omit any opportunity of informing me as to the situation of the family and of our friends, and of continuing your paternal advice. I was advised when in New York to go to some provincial town and spend some time previously to seeing Paris. Should I conclude to adopt this plan after my arrival at Bordeaux, the lateness of the season would seem to preclude the possibility of examining things properly at Paris before my return from England. You will communicate your sentiments on this head by the first opportunity, and I shall never be so well satisfied as in following your advice.

My love to my mother, sisters, and brother, — and in one word to all with us. Assure them I bear them always in remembrance, and yourself that I remain your dutiful son,

HENRY WHEATON.

Mr. S. WHEATON, Providence.
Via Norfolk.

BORDEAUX, July 30, 1805.

DEAR SIR, — I embrace with eagerness a direct opportunity of writing you from this place, which is offered me by the departure of Messrs. Aborn & Jackson's brig, Captain Shaw, for Providence direct. I arrived here in the diligence, from Nantes, on the 26th, much less fatigued by the journey than I had been taught to expect. You will have received before this reaches you the letters which I wrote you from that place. I have little more to add, excepting that I experienced until the moment of my departure the kind hospitality of Mr. Carmichael, who desired me to send you and family his respects when I should write. As soon as I arrived here I presented myself to M. Pelletreau, to whom I received letters from friends in New York, and by whom as well as by Mme. Pelletreau and family I was received in the kindest manner. Those whom I consulted at New York, and all those with whom I have conversed on the subject in this country, have advised my proceeding to some provincial town and residing there a short time previous to going to Paris. M. Pelletreau has recommended Poitiers for this purpose, as being a place agreeable, healthy, and peopled by inhabitants who speak the French language in its utmost purity. It also possesses another advantage above all others, viz., that I shall there have an opportunity of hearing some of the most eminent advocates in France, it being the seat of a tribunal of appeal from the tribunals of a number of departments. He will furnish me with letters to one or two of the principal of them, and will procure me the advantage of boarding at an economical rate in a private family. I have for these reasons concluded to proceed immediately to Poitiers and improve the advantages which the situation offers. This arrangement being adopted, it would seem impossible to see Paris to my profit this season, more especially if I wish to travel through any part of the Netherlands or Holland. Should this be con-

cluded, it will probably be the best arrangement to take passage from this port for London at the end of October, and return to France by the route of Holland early in the spring, see Paris. and embark for America. Should you wish any change in these dispositions, you will of course inform me by letter, and they shall be executed as far as the circumstances of the time when I shall receive your advice will admit.

The city of Nantes is finely built of white stone, and the new part is tolerably regular. The quays are convenient, and it is connected by the Loire with a fine interior country; its inhabitants are enterprising, and a number of merchants from the blockaded ports have retreated here for the purpose of continuing their business; but its commerce does not flourish, and there are many indigent people. At the same time and in the midst of this embarrassment, the manners of the young people are excessively dissipated, and many of them resort to gaming-houses, which are authorized by government, which profits in its revenue by the demoralization of the people. Notwithstanding these circumstances and notwithstanding they have suffered more than the inhabitants of any other city of France by the Revolution, the inhabitants proceed on the journey of life with thoughtlessness and gayety. The country between Nantes and Bordeaux is not the finest portion of France: but it seemed to me, with the exception of La Vendée and the low lands of La Rochelle, to be a great garden. Northward of the Charente the wheat and vines are intermingled; a few leagues to the southward of that river the cultivation of maize commences; from thence to Guienne these objects of cultivation variegate the prospect in the most delightful manner; but as you approach the Garonne the corn ceases almost entirely, and one continual vineyard presents itself to the eye. The vines in this part of the country are higher than to the northward, and are supported by rods. There is the prospect of an extraordinary vintage this season, and the harvest of corn is very productive. Casks for the disposition of the wine are very dear, and the peasantry may drink it like water. The last season was also uncommonly productive in wine, and M. P. informs me he still keeps the brandy he then made from an estate of his own near Rochefort, and that those who sell make only a trifling income from their estates. In the midst of this plenty the price of labor is very high, and the situation of the laboring class must of course be generally comfortable. I am assured that the peasantry are much better fed and clothed at present than before the Revolution, and are in every respect bettered in their circumstances, except in relation to the *conscription*, which is horribly distressing to their domestic happiness; the young men at the age of twenty being liable to march, although not always all called for, and their fathers and mothers being liable in the penalty of two thousand francs for their appearance. The manner in which every thing in this country is built of stone is very striking to me. The houses in the cities and towns, the quays and bridges, the houses in the country, and the barns, and every shed are built of stone and covered with tiles. This appearance of durability and of security from fire leads me to regret that this mode of building cannot be adopted in the United

States, where the foundations of an empire are laying, but without much more durable habitations for the greater part of the inhabitants than Tartar tents. Until the custom of building in wood is laid aside with us, the progress of the industry of every generation in accumulating capital to be employed in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, will be arrested and turned towards the reconstruction of their habitations ; whereas a nation which is obliged to rebuild not oftener than once in a century, and whose buildings require not extraordinary but only constant reparations, is enabled to turn its industry into more useful channels.

Bridges which are intended for durability have in all countries been built of stone ; but the invention of iron bridges seems likely to supersede these. A very superb one has been thrown over the Seine at Paris lately, and we observed them constructing one across the Sevrès in La Vendée. It is said they cost one third less than those of stone. If so, they are the bridges for America.

The genius of the present government of France seems more favorable to industry and improvement than any other it has had since the Revolution. In La Vendée I observed innumerable *châteaux* and houses destroyed by the different parties in that terrible war. Even whole villages have been destroyed. But roads are opening by the government, the houses are rebuilding, and the foundations of a new city laid in the centre of this unhappy province, to be called *Napoleon*. Indeed, the name of the Emperor is now attached to every thing. While I was at Nantes the name of Place *Egalité* was solemnly changed to that of Place *Impériale*, the equestrian statue of Bonaparte in his imperial robes exhibited in the hall of the municipality, and the imperial eagle elevated. While on the road from Nantes to Bordeaux we slept at Rochefort, and the next morning we took the opportunity of visiting the port, which we were permitted to do by going with our *aubergiste*, who was responsible for us. Although one of the smallest dock-yards the French have, the extent of the magazines is very great, their contents immense, and vast quantities of cannon, mortars, shot, and anchors lying on the ground. Several corvettes are building and one ship of sixty-four guns in the dry-dock. This dock is beautifully constructed of stone, the bottom and sides adapted to the shape of the vessel, and the whole perfectly dry. The squadron having sailed again, there were no ships of any consequence in port. Several hundred galley-slaves, with their mark of *honorable* distinction, and chained two and two, are employed here at labor. Rochefort is an unhealthy place, the inhabitants being subject to fevers occasioned by the low ground in the vicinity of the city. Bordeaux is almost incomparably superior to Nantes in almost every important particular. Finely situated for commerce, elegantly built, and with many spacious and convenient streets, it is regarded as the second city in France. Connected with the South and with the Mediterranean by the canal of Languedoc, it invites to itself more commercial advantages than any other port in the country.

My love to my mother, and assure her she is not forgotten ; for, if

any thing was wanting to remind me of her, the not discovering any one here to fill her place would be sufficient. My sisters will receive the same assurances, and I request my respects to all our friends.

I remain your dutiful son,

HENRY WHEATON.

SETH WHEATON, Providence.

POITIERS, Aug. 18, 1805.

DEAR SIR, — I take up my pen to inform you that I arrived here Sunday, the 8th instant, at night. The next day I was recommended to a place to board by the gentleman to whom M. Pelletreau had recommended me, and where I have the advantages of the instruction of the gentleman of the house and of the use of his library. I have received every attention from those with whom I have been made acquainted, that can render my situation agreeable and my residence profitable. I have made such progress in the language that I can make known all my wants, and that I can speak on any common topic of conversation *with the aid of explanations*, though I do not pretend to say with much propriety or regard to grammatical rules. The attention for which the French are so remarkable in this respect, contributes not a little to my improvement, and I hope with the addition of the period I may spend at Paris next spring to be able to speak with tolerable propriety. That part of Guienne which I have seen in my last journey is equally fertile and well cultivated with that which I had seen before. The grand route to Paris passes the Garonne and the Dordogne by two ferries, which are well maintained; and the road is superbly built, for the most part paved. Although the country on this side the Garonne is mostly in vineyards, yet it is not here that are produced the best *wines of Bordeaux*, but on the other side of the river in Medoc, a little strip of country between that and the sea, the produce of which is computed to be worth, one year with another, five or six millions of livres. The Province of Angoumois, into which we enter next on the route to Paris, is fertile and has many vineyards. Angoulême is situated, in a most singular and picturesque manner, on a high hill, the base of which is washed by the Charente,—here an insignificant stream, although at Rochefort it floats the navies of France. Poitou is in general very poor, great quantities of land being uncultivated and Nature having been very illiberal to it in the article of soil. Besides these causes, it has no connection with the sea; the navigation of the Charente commencing at Angoulême, and that of the Vienne at Chatellerault. You may therefore suppose that there is little trade in Poitiers, which is in fact the case. Although the town contains twenty thousand inhabitants, there are only two commercial houses, and a few fabrics of woollens. The town is the worst built I have ever seen, being very ancient, and the streets very narrow and crooked. It is perfectly quiet, and the inhabitants are very devout, all the exercises of the Catholic religion being performed here with great attention. A person who did not know that a Revolution had happened in France would certainly not discover it from the appearance of things here: it

is seldom the subject of conversation, and things go on as though it had not happened. The government appears to be as strong as any in the world; its orders are executed without a murmur of disapprobation, and nothing but the voice of applause is heard on the part of the public. It is the general opinion that things are much better situated in all respects than at any period of the Revolution. The interior is perfectly quiet, justice regularly administered, the public revenues regularly collected, and the payment regularly made. As to the question whether the nation has gained or lost in common happiness, there are as many answers to it as persons to whom it is proposed. But all agree in stating that the condition of the peasantry has been much improved by that event; that they are better fed and clothed, better paid, and that the land is better cultivated. On the other hand, the condition of the proprietors has certainly deteriorated; many of them have been stripped of all their possessions, and the value of the possessions of others has much diminished. The situation of the commercial part of the community is but too well known. It seems to be the better opinion that the manufactures are not so flourishing as before the Revolution. The interior troubles, the war, and the vast destruction of capital and credit, have given them a blow from the effects of which it will cost them a long period to recover. Provisions are plenty, and the ensuing vintage will produce wine enough to supply the want occasioned by several bad vintages in case they should happen. The common bread which is eaten by the mass of the people is $1\frac{1}{2}$ sols the pound (French), and the finest bread $2\frac{1}{2}$; meat is 8 or 10 sols the pound; a good pair of shoes costs 5 livres; a good hat, a Louis d'or. Fuel is very dear, and is computed to have doubled the price in twenty years. The finest fruits are in the greatest abundance; such as prunes, peaches, pears, apricots, and figs. A laborer in the country is paid twenty or twenty-five sols *per diem*, with the addition of his maintenance. In all the towns and on the road I have encountered beggars, and the streets of Poitiers are infested with them.

The army is said to be in the best condition, and is every year augmented in its numbers. The conscription is one of the most oppressive and vexatious circumstances of which the people have a right to complain. All the male population between the ages of twenty and twenty-four is included in the conscription; the number of men for which the government has occasion is divided among the departments each year in ratio of their population, and the share of each department is taken out of the whole number included in the conscription by lot. Exemption can be procured in no other way than by purchasing a man, which cannot be done without a very considerable expense. I saw on the road to Poitiers a number of young conscripts tied together with cords, and driven by an officer on horseback attended with a *gendarme*. They were of those who had not presented themselves at the depot at the fixed time. The conscription is enforced at present with great severity, and an Imperial decree has just appeared for forming in the interior what are called companies of reserve. . . . Vast numbers of French and Austrian troops are collected and collecting on the frontier

in Italy; two French engineers have been arrested at Venice; and the journals at Milan threaten that in case Austria breaks the peace the war will not be long, and another will be signed at Vienna which will never be broken. Notwithstanding these facts, the opinion of well-informed people here is that the peace will be preserved. You will have doubtless heard before this that the Emperor is at Boulogne; that he has reviewed the troops there; that the troops are embarked on board the fleet in the Texel; of the battle between the combined fleet (on its return to Europe) and the English; that another squadron has sailed from Rochefort; the fears of the English concerning the descent, &c. On the last subject people have been so often deceived that they seem to have no opinion but only to wait the movement of events. All seem confident that if they can accomplish a landing on the British shore the conquest of the island is certain.

Poitiers is the seat of a tribunal of first instance, of a criminal tribunal, tribunal of commerce, and tribunal of appeal from the tribunals of four departments. This last is at present in session, and of course I have the advantage of hearing every day some of the most eminent advocates of the country, in addition to the improvement in the language, which is spoken in its greatest purity by the advocates. M. Pelletreau gave me a letter to one of the judges; but he unfortunately retires into the country in a day or two, so that I shall not have the pleasure of much of his society. He gave me an invitation to come to his country house, which is in the vicinity of Saintes (about twenty leagues); but I declined accepting it, not wishing to make myself inconvenient to any one, though at the same time not doubting the sincerity of his politeness, because he is a particular friend of M. Pelletreau.

Poitiers is also the seat of a *lyceum*, one of the seminaries of education established at every seat of a tribunal of appeal, of which there are thirty in the Empire. The students are all dressed in military uniform, march to the sound of the tambour, and the elder ones are exercised in the use of arms. Every year at the end of this month an examination takes place, attended with public exercises and a distribution of prizes. There are nearly a hundred places of students boarded and educated at the expense of government.

That the present establishment of the Catholic religion is not so splendid as the ancient, you will readily conceive when you are told that there were formerly fifty churches and thirty convents in this city, and that at present there are only five or six churches. But the people are devout, and the ceremonies of religion are performed with great attention.

Since it has been concluded best that I should not see Paris this summer, it will probably be most advantageous to embark in the month of October for London, and return early in the spring by way of the North, since I should not wish to leave Europe without seeing Holland. If there is any thing in this arrangement that you do not approve, you will of course write, as I wrote you from Bordeaux, by Captain Shaw; and I wait with some degree of impatience letters, not having received any since I left home.

My love to family and respects to all friends, and be assured I remain your affectionate son,

H. WHEATON.

PARIS, Oct. 10, 1805.

MY DEAR SIR, — I had the pleasure of writing you under date of the 7th instant by way of Bordeaux, and of acknowledging the receipt of your letter dated 4th of August past. In my other letter you will have been informed of the circumstances which induced me to leave Poitiers and to come to the capital for the purpose of seeing its objects of curiosity. But having another opportunity of writing you by the politeness of Mr. —, who, the Secretary of Legation informs me, is to be the bearer of despatches to our government, I could not omit this opportunity of adding another word, as possibly the other letter will not reach you. Having nearly completed my review of the principal objects of attention which the capital embraces, as well as its environs, I shall leave it within a week for Rotterdam.

As to the question of returning to France in the spring and taking passage in one of its ports for the States, I can be better able to judge of it with the assistance of your advice, which you will undoubtedly give me in your first letters. But at present I cannot think it will be profitable in proportion to the expense. As to French, I speak it well enough to be understood, but cannot tell how rapidly I may forget it in an absence from this country. I have seen enough of the country to form a general idea of it, and could not see any more of the interesting objects in the capital, nor derive any more advantage from a residence here, than I shall have seen of them and derived of my residence, unless it was extended to a period of three or four months, so as to have the advantage of attending lectures. As, however, the same advantages may be had in London, there remains nothing in this capital which can induce me to return to the country. I shall be able, however, to judge of these matters better in the spring, and with the assistance of your advice.

Here, as I informed you by my other letter, I found it impossible to get into a respectable private family, and was consequently obliged to go into a hotel; in the other capital, I hope, with the assistance of a friend, to have this important advantage. If I should undertake to conjecture the cause of its impracticability here, I should attribute it to the general corruption of manners which renders people distrustful of one another, formal, and unwilling to share with strangers the comforts of their domestic society, or to make them associates in its secrets, its misfortunes, and perhaps its vices. Add to this that, on the other hand, those who come to Paris to spend a short time prefer to live in a hotel rather than in a private family, where they must be obliged to conform themselves to the rules there prevailing, and to live in a more regular manner than most of the travellers who come to this capital wish to do.

The fine arts are carried to great perfection here at present on account of the encouragement given them by government, and of the

important advantages that Paris presents for their cultivation. A taste for their beauties is very generally diffused. Even the furniture is at present modelled after the antique: chairs turned on the arms with griffins, tripods for tables, and the handirons with sphinxes' heads are to be seen in all well-furnished houses. The gallery of statues and paintings is open only twice a week for the inhabitants of Paris, the other days being reserved for strangers and artists; great numbers of the last being continually employed in copying the paintings and designing after them and the statues. I was present the other day at a public sitting of the National Institute, at which were distributed the grand prizes of architecture, sculpture, painting, engraving on precious stones, and music. The effect produced by the enthusiasm excited by these annual rewards of merit must be a great improvement in the fine arts. The subject of architecture was a plan for a mansion to be built by twelve families united together; that of sculpture, Evander going out to meet the dead body of his son; that of painting, the death of Demosthenes; that of engraving on precious stones, the genius of the art presenting an engraved stone to the Emperor. The productions which had gained the prizes were exhibited, and their authors crowned in the midst of the acclamations of spectators.

You will be pleased to communicate this letter to Uncle Levi; it is addressed to him and you. My love and respects to all our friends, and I hope to meet your next letter in the island. Be assured of the respect and affection with which I remain your son,

HENRY WHEATON.

Mr. S. WHEATON, Providence, R. I.

LONDON, Nov. 7, 1805.

Mr. SETH WHEATON, Providence.

DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure of informing you that I arrived here a week since, after a short and pleasant passage from Rotterdam. In the journey from Paris to that place, I was obliged to go by the way of Maestricht and Liege, instead of Antwerp, which is the ordinary route, on account of the naval constructions which are going on in that port. This is a regulation at present applicable to all foreigners.

On my arrival here I presented myself to Mr. Charles Murray, with my letter from uncle. On requesting his advice as to a private family to board with, he gave me an invitation to live with him. Although this was something I had no right to expect, yet the frankness of his manner prevented my refusing his kind offer, which also was not suggested by any hint of my own wishes for the purpose. I find my situation very agreeable here; as, besides the advantage of living in so pleasing a family, I have that of the use of Mr. Murray's books and of his advice and assistance in all the objects of my pursuit.

I find I have arrived precisely at the moment of the commencement of the term of the courts in Westminster Hall, which began the day before yesterday, and will continue a month; which I shall of course frequently visit. One of our ships was condemned yesterday in the

Court of Admiralty.* I should have been present, but was confined to the house with a cold. It appears that this condemnation went upon the ground with most of those which have lately occurred. It appears to be the determination of the government of this country to prevent entirely the carriage of the produce of their enemies' colonies to the mother country in our neutral bottoms, even though the presumption is that the property has *bona fide* changed owners, and become that of the neutral shippers. The alleged motive for the present assertion of this principle on the part of Great Britain, is that the resources of her enemies are kept alive by the intercourse between them and their colonies, even more advantageous to them than in time of peace. Such is the substance of the reasonings contained in a pamphlet called "War in Disguise; or, the Frauds of Neutral Flags,"† and which is supposed to contain the governmental ideas on the subject. What effect these events will have on the public mind in the States I cannot say, but should suppose that much moderation should be manifested in the measures which may be taken on the occasion, while at the same time our determination not to abandon our neutral rights should be clearly shown.

I expected to find here a letter from you, with a credit on London; but I have enough of funds to answer my present wants, and you will doubtless have taken measures to supply me. The amount of the funds which I had in the hands of MM. Pelletreau, Bellamy & Company was 3,520 francs, and the amount of my expenses up to this time has been 2,598 francs. This exceeds what I had reason to expect, yet I made use of every economy in my power at the time. Had I the same ground to go over again, my experience would enable me very much to reduce it in many instances. I mentioned above that I had taken cold since my arrival here. The climate seems well calculated to favor this complaint and its consequent disorders, and it seems to be the universal opinion both of the physicians as well as others that the best security against them consists in wearing flannel next the skin. I am prevented from adopting this counsel only by your opinion, which I remember has always been against it. You will be pleased to give me your reasons on this head, although I shall probably be obliged to determine relative to it before the receipt of it.

You will present my respects to Mr. Eddy and Mr. Searle, and

* The case of "The Anna" was heard November 6, but judgment was not given until the 15th, when the ship was released. We do not find the condemnation of an American vessel on the 6th in the Admiralty Court. See 5 Robinson (Admiralty Reports), 373. —Eds.

† The author of this pamphlet, which passed through several editions in England, and was reprinted in America, was James Stephen. He had been editor, and parliamentary reporter of the "Morning Chronicle"; had held an appointment in the prize court at St. Christopher, and became, after his return to England, a prominent advocate in the Court of Admiralty, and a member of Parliament. To him are ascribed the suggestion and arrangement of the system of the continental blockade. His pamphlet was answered in this country by Gouverneur Morris, and by President Madison. —Eds.

inform them that I shall write them by the next opportunity, not being able by this, the ship sailing to-morrow morning.

With love to my mother and sisters, grandmother, and to Martha, I remain your affectionate son,

HENRY WHEATON.

P. S. I received one letter from you while in France, — that under date of the 4th of August. I wish to have the pleasure of hearing from you as frequently as possible. You will undoubtedly have received before this reaches you the news of Lord Nelson's victory over the combined fleets off Cadiz, in which the enemy lost eighteen ships of the line taken and destroyed, and the British admiral was killed.

LONDON, Jan. 6, 1806.

Mr. SETH WHEATON, Providence.

MY DEAR SIR, — I embrace the present opportunity of informing you of the continuance of my health and agreeable sojourn here. I have filled up most of my time in visiting the courts, in which I have been assisted (as indeed in everything else) by the kind offices of Mr. M. As they are now in vacation, I fill up my leisure in visiting some of the principal curiosities of London, which are however by no means so interesting or numerous as those of Paris. We were the other day on board Captain Shaw's ship in the London docks at Wapping. These, with the West India docks in the Isle of Dogs, and the East India (which are not yet completed), are one vast monument of the industry and commerce of this great city. Indeed, it appears throughout like one vast exchange and warehouse.

What I have seen of them gives me a high idea of the administration of justice in the courts of justice in this country. Learning, purity, and impartiality seem to preside in them; and they are (as appears to me) in every particular superior to their neighbors on the Continent. Indeed, the intervention of the jury alone would make them decidedly superior to the tribunals of France, where, except in criminal cases, everything is determined by the judge. To which it is to be added that these bodies are but new in their institution, have not yet learned their business, or even the very laws they are to administer; besides that they are not so perfectly free from all suspicion of corruption. In this my opinion of the English tribunals I do not mean however to include the Court of Admiralty, which, though proceeding according to the law of nations, is confessedly under a political direction and governed in its decisions by considerations of state. I am unable to add any thing to the idea which seems to prevail in the States of the injustice of its recent attacks on our neutral commerce, excepting that it is felt with equal force by all the friends of real justice here. From the tenor of the President's message, which we have seen, it would seem that, should the views of Congress accord with his on the subject, some vigorous measures will be taken to bring this government to reason. I have understood that there are grounds for

believing our difficulties with Spain to be settled at Madrid, so that the Dons will escape that chastisement they so well deserve for their tyranny and degradation in both quarters of the globe.

I have endeavored to follow your advice as to shunning political discussions, avoiding conversation of that nature when practicable, and silently assenting to the ideas when not. This, however, is not easy to do, almost every important subject of inquiry being more or less connected with politics in the awful times when we live.

You will undoubtedly have taken measures to supply me with such funds as you may think necessary for my expenses in England. At present, however, I am in no want, having as I told you something remaining of my French funds. I have agreed with Mr. M. for my board at the rate of two guineas and a half the week, which I hope you will approve of, as I have learned upon inquiry that it cannot be had for a little or any less in a respectable family; and the society of his will fully compensate any small difference. The great expense of living, which is in other respects equal here, will naturally induce me to render my residence here as short as possible. After the next term of the courts is finished, I shall be at leisure to take a tour to such parts of the country as may be thought advantageous.

On the question of returning to France I shall wait your commands. The advantages and inconveniences of the project are equally obvious. You will recollect I wrote you from Paris rather unfavorably to the project; but later thoughts have induced me in some measure to alter my opinion on the subject. The expense will doubtless appear to you, as it does to me, an important objection. Your commands I shall receive with pleasure, being quite indifferent on the subject. I shall probably receive an answer from you to this letter at the end of March or beginning of April, when I shall prepare to embark for the States or cross the channel. In case the intercourse is not, however, as direct as it has been, I shall not undertake it, whatever may be your opinion.

My love to my mother and sisters, to my grandmother, to my Aunt Jackson, Uncle Samuel, and all our friends generally; and be assured I remain your affectionate son,

H. W.

P. S. I have sent to my sisters a few trifling new-year's day presents, which I hope they will receive with this letter. In case I do not cross over to France, I shall probably not embark from here before May.

LONDON, Jan. 30, 1806.

Mr. SETH WHEATON, Providence.

MY DEAR SIR,— I have written you *via* New York by the ship "Remittance," Captain Low, who sailed the middle of the month, but was prevented leaving the Downs until three days since; and although I have little to add, I take this opportunity of informing you of the continuance of my health in tolerable condition, and of my progress in

pursuit of that information which induced me to visit Europe. In this object I am aided by Mr. Murray by every means in his power, and his attentions to me demand my warmest acknowledgment and gratitude. By the month of April I shall probably have completed the attainment of the principal objects which demand my attention in the metropolis, and shall be at leisure to make some little excursions in the interior for the purpose of acquiring a general idea of its condition, and then Edinburgh and Glasgow, or return home by the way of France, as you may advise me. I have already written you for your advice and commands on this head, and which I expect to receive in April in order to govern my movements. I have already informed you that I had agreed with Mr. M. for my board at the rate of two guineas and a half per week, which, as I before stated, is as low as I could board in any private family. What will be the amount of my other expenses I cannot say, because I do not know what will be the extent of my journeys in the interior; but I shall certainly endeavor to exercise all due discretion on this head.

You will doubtless have learned long before this reaches you of the humiliation of Austria, and the change in the government of this country which is about to take place. The united parties of Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox will undoubtedly come into power; but what will be the effect of this revolution seems to be a subject of great public doubt and division. I saw Mr. Monroe on Sunday last; his family are at Bath; the feeble state of Mrs. Monroe's health preventing her from remaining in town. He informed me that our difficulties with this country would probably be amicably settled; but he was, as you may conclude, totally silent as to the manner or the actual state of the negotiation.

Be pleased to give my compliments and regards to Mr. Eddy and Mr. Searle, to whom I have written by Captain Low; to Uncle and Aunt Jackson, to Martha, and all our friends. My love to my mother and sisters (to whom I have sent some trifling presents by Captain Low), and to my grandmother, all whom I hope this letter will find in health as well as yourself, and accept assurances of the affectionate regard of

H. W.

MR. SETH WHEATON, Providence.

LONDON, March 2, 1806.

MY DEAR SIR,— I have already had the pleasure of informing you that I had reached the land of our forefathers before the date of your last letter of the 28th November, 1805, and that I found myself comfortably situated in the family of Mr. Murray. I have since made considerable progress in accomplishing the objects of my visit to this metropolis. It only remains that I should see something more of Parliament, the practice of which as well as its substantial business you know to be of great importance, as our legislative bodies are modelled after it, and refer to its forms as proved by experience to be adapted to the transaction of their business. In this I have not found so great facility as I could have wished, as it is difficult to gain ad-

mittance into the House of Commons without *paying*, and as it sits only in the evening, and is a very confined, unwholesome place. The impeachment of Lord Melville, which will soon be tried, I shall certainly not neglect, as it is an affair of intrinsic importance and will call forth the abilities of the great men of this nation.

I wait with some impatience your directions relative to my next movements; whether I shall return directly to America or by the way of France. You will also have remitted to defray my expenses in England in the mean time. I have a small sum left to defray my ordinary expenses, and Mr. M. will also supply me, as uncle has already written him for that purpose. I have still remaining in the hands of MM. Pelletreau & Co. a small balance of 513 francs, which I have not drawn for, on account of the possibility of my returning to France. In case that should be your wish, you will of course take measures to supply me with what may be necessary to accomplish it. You may be satisfied that I consult economy as much as is practicable consistently with the necessity of preserving a decent and moderate conformity with the manners of the society in which I find myself.

It is supposed that our negotiations with this government are proceeding with as much rapidity as the magnitude of the interests embraced by them will admit. And from the character of those who now hold the reins of government here, it is presumed there can be no doubt of a favorable result to them. I have seen Mr. Monroe; but, his family being out of town, I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing them. His interviews with Mr. Fox are frequent, and he speaks with confidence of the issue. In the mean time, however, the Prize Courts continue by their decrees to manifest a disposition not to recede from those doctrines upon the faith of which they have confiscated so much of our neutral property. The judgment of the Court of Appeals was delivered a few days since by Sir William Grant, at considerable length, in which the decree of the Admiralty on a constructive continued voyage was affirmed; and it was declared to have always been the policy and the right of this country to keep her enemies' colonies shut in time of war, and that all exceptions to this principle were to be considered as relaxations in favor of neutral commerce, and not to be extended by evasion beyond their strict limits. The book on this subject written in America and containing an argument against these doctrines is reprinting here, and will issue from the press in a day or two. Intelligence of the measures taken on your side of the water in this great crisis is also anxiously expected here, as they cannot fail to have much influence on the final result.*

* Sir William Grant was Master of the Rolls. The case must, we think, have been "The William," judgment in which, however, is dated in the Reports, March 11. The opinion is printed in 5 Robinson, 387-406.

Both Mr. Morris's and Mr. Madison's answers to "War in Disguise" were reprinted in London this spring. Mr. Madison's "Examination" contains considerable discussion of the continued voyage doctrine. There was also reprinted an American pamphlet favorable to the British views, by Phocion. This was written by William Smith, of South Carolina, who had been a member of Congress and United States Minister to Portugal. — Eds.

I trust that our little State already begins to feel the effects of a relief from that little, mean, insulating, and vicious policy which has so long depressed and brutalized her, and that the present opportunity of giving her a thorough reform and a constitutional government will not be lost.*

With my respects to Dr. Wheaton, Mr. Eddy, and Mr. Searle, and to our friends generally, my love to my mother and sisters, the anticipation of the pleasure of meeting whom renders my long absence less irksome, and to your mother,

I remain your affectionate son,

H. W.

Mr. DEXTER presented a gift from Mr. George S. Wright, of Boston, a small diary, the entries in which begin at Cambridge, March 23, 1775, and extend without interruption to July 19, at Scituate, when the end of the book (32 pages) is reached. On the outside covers there are inscriptions in hieroglyphics, or some system of shorthand, and unless the name of the writer is hidden in these inscriptions there is no name attached to the diary. Mr. Wright rescued the book from a barrel of waste on its way to the paper-mill.

From internal evidence it appears that this journal was kept by Paul Litchfield, who was born at Scituate, March 12, 1752, the oldest of a family of twelve children. He graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1775, and gives in the diary a glimpse of the dispersed condition of the college at the beginning of the war. He himself went home, April 11, and made a visit to Cambridge, May 25, when he notes that he found his chamber "broken up, and several things missing, among which was Johnson's English Dictionary." Probably by that time some Continental soldiers were lodged in his room. Mr. Litchfield taught the Latin school in his native town this spring "in the room [place] of Mr. Turner." He enters in the diary the daily attendance of scholars. He afterward studied theology with Dr. Stephen West, of Stockbridge, and was ordained the first pastor of the church in

* We are indebted to our Corresponding Member, the Hon. John R. Bartlett, of Providence, for the following note :—

"Mr. Wheaton doubtless refers to the spirit which so long kept Rhode Island from adopting the United States Constitution, and which resisted every effort to adopt a State constitution. Arthur Fenner, who had been governor for fifteen years, was then just dead. No successor had been chosen, and Mr. Wheaton hoped that with a change of administration would come a change of policy; but all his hopes were disappointed. A son of Arthur Fenner became governor, and no change of policy took place. It took nearly forty years to obtain a constitutional form of government, and such other reforms as Mr. Wheaton desired." — Eds.

Carlisle, Nov. 7, 1781, the church having been formed only in the February preceding. He remained in this ministry forty-six years, and died in Carlisle, Nov. 7, 1827.

A few extracts from the diary are here printed:—

March 30 [Cambridge]. Cool and blustering. About 1,200 soldiers marched out to Roxbury, which gave an alarm to that and the neighboring towns, but they peaceably returned in a short time.

April 10. Pleasant. My horse brought by Benjamin Peakes. Two regiments of soldiers marched through Cambridge about two o'clock P.M. Settled with Biglow, Secretary to the speaking club: paid him 12/ 8½ in full. Recited Homer last.

April 11. Rode from Cambridge to Braintree in company with Otis and Sever, and from thence alone. Got home about five. Wind out and chilly, cold. Mr. Smith took his leave of the class.

April 19 [Scituate]. Something blustering and cool.* Visited and dined with Mr. Grosvenor. Went to the Harbour just before night. Returned home not till night.

April 20. Very early in the morning received the news of the engagement between the king's troops and the Americans at Concord

* It has generally been supposed that the day on which the battle of Concord and Lexington was fought was warm. Mr. Hudson, in his *History of the latter town*, says, "All accounts agree that the day was unusually warm for that season of the year" (p. 197); but gives no authorities. Stedman, the British historian, says that when the retreating troops were relieved by Earl Percy's detachment at the Monroe Tavern, "they were so much exhausted with fatigue that they were obliged to lie down for rest on the ground, their tongues hanging out of their mouths like those of dogs after a chase." But this statement does not necessarily imply hot weather. Dusty roads and an incessant struggle with an almost unseen and ever-increasing enemy might make the soldiers pant with fatigue and thirst. It is well understood, however, that the spring of 1775 was an early one. Dr. Belknap says, comparing it with the season of ten years later, in a letter to Mr. Hazard, April 16, 1785 ("Belknap Papers," vol. i. p. 330), "I had set posts for my fence, and had my garden made and sown by this time." And this Litchfield diary, in which the weather is generally observed, speaks of snow melting as it fell early in April, and uses the words *moderate*, *pleasant*, *warm*, *very warm*, of the days immediately preceding the 19th. That day appears, however, to have been chilly, at least in the morning. Dr. Belknap himself, noting the weather in his interleaved almanac for April 19, 1775, says, "fair, windy, cool, W." This was at Dover, New Hampshire. Mr. Frothingham, in his "Siege of Boston" (pp. 59, 84, n.) states that the morning at Lexington was chilly; and cites the diary of the Rev. Mr. Marrett (of Burlington), "fair, windy, and cold." The Rev. Mr. Emerson, of Concord, does not mention the weather in his account.

Our associate, the Rev. E. G. Porter, of Lexington, in answer to a question, writes, "The accounts agree that the early morning of the 19th of April was chilly, but pleasant, with a bright moon. From various sources, which I think are authentic, I have also the impression that as the day advanced it became much warmer, especially towards noon and in the afternoon. I remember asking Mr. Hudson once about this, and he said he had ample proof of its being a warm day from the families of the men who participated in the engagement. But, as you say, the excitement and fatigue may have made it seem warmer than it really was. The season was unusually forward, and the grass was high enough to wave in the breeze."—Eds.

the day before, upon which our men were ordered to appear in arms immediately. I was upon the guard on the third cleft* the night ensuing, and about eight o'clock took two Tories as they were returning from Marshfield, who were kept under guard that night. Exceeding windy.

April 21. About day took four Tories, and sprained my ankle. Then marched to the meeting-house with our prisoners. Got home before noon. Grew cloudy in the afternoon. All the companies but one marched for Marshfield. Guards kept all day; also in the night at divers places.

April 22. Cloudy and some rain. Men still kept in arms. Myself confined with a lame ankle.

April 23 [Sunday]. . . . Companies appeared in arms at the meeting-house.

April 25. Warm and very windy. Tories were taken and carried to Marshfield. Went to Marshfield myself; returned home after sunset.

May 10. . . . Men listed into the standing army.

May 11. Something cool. A day of humiliation and prayer. Mr. Mansfield prayed fore and afternoon. Mr. Grosvenor preached from first chapter of Lamentations, first and second verses. . . .

May 16. Warm and pleasant. . . . Fruit trees blossomed very thick. . . .

May 21 [Sunday]. Wind out. Clear in the forenoon, in the afternoon cloudy and cold. Just before meeting began in the morning, hearing the king's troops were landing near Hingham, the people in general dispersed, so that there was no meeting till the afternoon, when Mr. Grosvenor preached from the 107th Psalm, 6th verse. The occasion of the above alarm was this: about one hundred Regulars landed on Grape Island in order to get some hay.

May 31. Cloudy in the fore part of the day, and foggy. Something cloudy in the after part, also warm. School in the forenoon, scholars 24. Came home to dinner. First company of militia met and chose their officers: Noah Otis, Captain; William Vinall, First Lieutenant; myself, Second Lieutenant; I. Man, Ber. Bailey [?], Elisha Lit [Little?], and Michael Mort [or Moot?], Sergeants.

June 10. . . . A number of whale-boats went along the shore from the southward for the use of our army. . . .

June 15. . . . It is said that a number of troops have arrived at Boston.

June 17. Something warm. An almost continual firing heard all day, supposed to be near Boston. A large smoke arose and a fire seen in the evening. . . .

June 20. Cool. Various accounts about the fight on Saturday last.

June 29. . . . Signed to stand guard on the sea-shore.

* "The four cliffs, so well known to mariners, are all on the south of the Harbour, showing sandy fronts." Deane's "History of Scituate," p. 22. — Eds.

July 1. . . . Watched last night on the sea-shore with Ephraim Litchfield. Feel the want of sleep to-day. Mr. Tory [Torrey ?] came to watch.

July 8. A very warm day. Labored some. In the afternoon the Royal Americans met and chose their officers. 1. Myself, Captain; 2. Isaiah Man, First Lieutenant; 3. John Otis, Second Lieutenant.

Admiral GEORGE HENRY PREBLE read an interesting letter which he had received from Sir Provo W. P. Wallis, who lives near Chichester, England, and is now in his ninety-second year. He is the last survivor of the officers who participated in the great naval battle between the "Shannon" and the "Chesapeake," June 1, 1813. In that action he was the second lieutenant of the English vessel, a young man of twenty-two, and after the death of Lieutenant Watt and the disabling of Captain Broke, the command of the "Shannon" and her prize devolved upon him. He carried both vessels into the harbor of his native town, Halifax. He visited Boston a second time, in charge of an English vessel, in 1826.

A request from the Bostonian Society, through its President, Curtis Guild, Esq., to retain for a longer time the portraits and other articles lent from this Society's Cabinet for the formal opening of the restored legislative halls in the Old State House, was referred to the Committee appointed at the June meeting to arrange that loan, with full powers.

Colonel T. W. HIGGINSON presented a photograph of a plan of the first parish in Lebanon, Connecticut, indorsed: "A plan of the first society in Lebanon, with the highways and buildings thereon, with the distance of each house from the Meeting House; also the centre of said society. Said Society contains 18,020 acres and 70 rods; 10,421 acres and 70 rods southerly of the pricked line, and 7,599 acres northerly of said line. Surveyed October and November, 1772, with the assistance of chainmen under oath, *per* Nathl. Webb, County Surveyor." This distance varies from a few rods to over five miles. The pricked line probably represents a line dividing the parish into two parts, recognized by the Society's vote as early as 1732. In that year there was a proposal to build a new meeting-house, and the old location was selected, with the agreement that the parishioners living north of a certain line should have their contributions refunded whenever they built a separate church for the north village.

This plan was doubtless prepared in connection with the above dispute about the situation of the parish meeting-house and the centre of population. The quarrel was an old one,

dating back nearly to the organization of the town in 1700. In June, 1772, the society voted, by the small majority of two, to take down the meeting-house and rebuild it at a point further north, nearer what was then the centre of population including the northern settlement, called Lebanon Village. The minority appealed to the General Assembly of the State, and at the October session of that body a committee was appointed on the matter. Their report, made at the May session ensuing, temporarily adjusted the dispute. But it broke out again later, and after serious disturbances approaching in character to a riot, the question was referred for final settlement to the Supreme Court. The whole "Meeting-House War," as it has been called, has a curious interest as showing the controlling part played by ecclesiastical matters in the New England towns.*

The original plan was found by Mr. Walter G. Kingsley, the present town clerk of Lebanon, in the house of Mr. William Beaumont, an aged resident of the town. This house is situated a little west of the point marked "centre" in the map, in what is now called Lebanon Centre. The photograph was made under the direction of Mr. Peter Thacher, of West Newton, Massachusetts, and at the expense of Professor Thacher, of Yale College, the latter a cousin of Mr. Beaumont.

The Rev. Dr. PAIGE said that he had seen a plan of the town of Hardwick, Massachusetts, made about fifty years ago, with the distances similarly marked.

A serial number of the Proceedings, bringing the record of the Society's meetings down to and including that of June, was presented by the Recording Secretary.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR communicated the following Memoir of the Hon. Solomon Lincoln, which he had been appointed to prepare for the Proceedings: —

* The particulars of this "Meeting-House War" may be found in Note G of Mr. Morgan's Appendix to the Rev. Mr. Hine's historical address, "Early Lebanon," pp. 71-84. — Eds.



Solomon Lincoln

MEMOIR

OF THE

HON. SOLOMON LINCOLN.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR.

MR. LINCOLN came on all sides of early Puritan and Pilgrim stock. He at one time prepared the following account of his lineage : —

“Through my father’s line I was descended from Samuel Lincoln, who came to this country from Hingham, England, in 1637 and settled in Hingham, Massachusetts. Samuel, the emigrant, died May 26, 1690, leaving several children, of whom the oldest, Samuel, was baptized Aug. 25, 1650. He served in King Philip’s war, being in the Narragansett campaign of December, 1675; married Deborah, daughter of William Hersey of Hingham, and died in March, 1721, leaving several children, of whom the second was Jedediah, who was born Oct. 2, 1692, and died Sept. 23, 1783. This Jedediah married Bethiah, daughter of Enoch Whiton, of Hingham, and one of their sons was Enoch, who was father of Levi (H. C. 1772), Attorney-General of the United States; and Levi was in turn the father of Levi Lincoln (H. C. 1802), Governor of Massachusetts,* and of Enoch Lincoln, Governor of Maine.

“Another son of Jedediah and Bethiah was my grandfather, William Lincoln, who was born Aug. 5, 1729, and died Nov. 17, 1792. William’s wife was Mary, daughter of Ephraim Otis of Scituate. She died Sept. 12, 1773, in her thirty-seventh year. They had several children, among them the Rev. Henry Lincoln (H. C. 1786), and Solomon, my father, who was born Aug. 22, 1767, and died Dec. 21, 1831. My mother was Lydia, daughter of Jesse and Abigail (Barnes) Bates, of Hingham; and I, their youngest child, was born Feb. 28, 1804.† Through my mother, Lydia Bates, I trace my descent from Richard Warren, who came over in the ‘Mayflower’ in 1620, and from Robert Bartlett, who came in the ‘Ann’ in 1623, and married

* See Proceedings, vol. xi. p. 48.

† In Hingham.

Mary, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Warren. This Robert's daughter, Elizabeth, married Anthony Sprague, of Hingham, son of William Sprague, the first settler of that name. Anthony's daughter Sarah married Caleb Bates of Hingham, in 1716, and their son Caleb (who married a Hobart) was the father of Jesse Bates, and the latter's daughter Lydia was my mother; and through her I also trace descent from the Walleys, Allyns, and Otises of Barnstable; and again from the Lincolns of Hingham. I have other ancestors among the early settlers of Hingham, bearing the names of Hersey, Whiton, Barnes, and Hobart. All the Otises of Scituate and Barnstable were descendants of John Otis, one of the first settlers of Hingham. My ancestors in the male line have all lived in Hingham and have been farmers.*

As a child, Mr. Lincoln was for a while a pupil of the late Artemas Hale of Bridgewater, who at that time taught a public school in Hingham. The lad when under ten entered Derby Academy, and began his preparation for college under the Rev. Daniel Kimball (H. C. 1800), which was completed after leaving the academy in 1819, under the Rev. Joseph Richardson, then a minister in the town. He entered Brown University as a Sophomore and was graduated in 1822, in the same class with Alexis Caswell, later the president of that institution, Isaac Davis, and Jacob H. Loud. After teaching a grammar school for nearly a year in Falmouth, Massachusetts, he entered the office of Ebenezer Gay in Hingham, in November, 1823, as a student of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1826, and practised his profession with some interruptions till 1853. He served as United States Marshal from March, 1841, to December, 1844; as Master in Chancery for Plymouth County in 1842-43; and as Bank Commissioner from 1849 to 1853, when he finally abandoned the law, and became cashier of the Webster Bank in Boston, afterward the National Webster Bank, and was made president of the same in 1869. He retired from the latter office and from all active pursuits in February, 1876.

Meanwhile his services in fiduciary places, and in the affairs of his town, were not small. He was on its school committee from 1828 to 1830, and did some efficient work in improving the schools. He filled for a large part of his life important positions of trust in the various charitable, agricultural, and other institutions, which his townsmen and neighbors committed to him. In politics he was in early life a Whig, and

* Mr. Lincoln printed in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," October, 1865, p. 857, some "Notes on the Lincoln Families of Massachusetts, with Some Account of the Family of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States."

became a member of the State House of Representatives in 1829 and 1840, and of the Senate in 1830 and 1831; and at one time declined a nomination for the national Congress. He was a Republican in his party affiliations after 1856.

Mr. Lincoln became early a student of local history, and in 1827 he published a "History of the Town of Hingham, Massachusetts," a book which is now very scarce. At that time there had been few attempts in this country to write such local histories. Outside of the occasional contributions of century and half-century orators, and the commemorative sermons and legendary verses of parish ministers and town bards, there had been hardly more than a score of publications which might properly be called local histories, many of these meagre. Nearly three quarters of them, moreover, were of Massachusetts towns. Snow's "History of Boston," printed in 1825, and Felt's "Annals of Salem," published in the very year of Mr. Lincoln's venture, stood perhaps for the best of their kind. Mr. Lincoln returned again to the same theme, when in 1835 he was called upon to address his townspeople on the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Hingham. He had already touched a kindred subject in his "Historical Sketch of Nantasket," which he printed in 1830.

The earliest of Mr. Lincoln's public addresses was given the year before he published his first book, when he was the town's orator, July 4, 1826. He delivered other orations, at Plymouth (Feb. 22, 1832), and Quincy (July 4, 1835), which were published, and among others, not printed, one at Brown University (Phi Beta Kappa, 1846). There was also printed a lecture on "Fisheries," which was read in 1832 in the Hall of the House of Representatives in Boston, and later before the Boston Society of Natural History. He was also called upon to make the address at the dedication of the Soldiers' Monument in Hingham, June 17, 1870; and this was also printed in "Hingham in the Civil War." He was a not infrequent contributor to the newspapers of his native town.

His interest in history led to his membership in the New England Historic, Genealogical Society and in the American Antiquarian Society, and he was a corresponding member of the Essex Institute. He became also a member of this Historical Society, Jan. 31, 1845; and was chairman of the committee which edited the "Hinckley Papers" in 1861, and he communicated a "Memoir of the Rev. Charles Brooks" to the Proceedings in 1880.

Mr. Lincoln married, Nov. 13, 1837, Mehitable Lincoln, a daughter of Welcome and Susanna (Gill) Lincoln. She died

Sept. 21, 1873, having had three children, all born in Hingham, and all surviving: Solomon (H. C. 1857), Arthur (H. C. 1863), and Francis Henry (H. C. 1867).

Mr. Lincoln died at Hingham, Dec. 1, 1881, and his remains were placed in the Hingham cemetery on the 3d.*

His equals in age had for the most part died; but the younger generation of his townspeople had learned of the respect felt by their fathers for his probity, and cherished the traditions of a wisdom so often deferred to, which came from experience in affairs, mingled with the teachings of books.

* The writer has used some memoranda kindly furnished at his request by the sons of Mr. Lincoln; a brief memoir in the "Hingham Journal," Dec. 9, 1881, written by Mr. George Lincoln, and a notice in the "Necrology of Brown University for 1881-82," which speaks of him as strongly attached to that institution, among whose graduates he had an unusually large acquaintance. As secretary of the class of 1822, "he carefully kept up the records of their lives as the years went on." Our Society is indebted to Mr. Lincoln's sons for the likeness which accompanies this sketch.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1882.

The regular meeting was held at the Society's rooms in Tremont Street, Boston, on Thursday, the 12th instant, at 8 o'clock P.M.; the senior Vice-President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the previous meeting was read and accepted.

The Librarian's monthly report of the donations to the Library was presented, in the absence of that officer, who attended the Webster commemoration at Marshfield, which occurred this same day, in his official capacity as Mayor of the city of Boston. The gifts included the fourth volume of the "Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay," 1759-68, from the Commonwealth, of which work our associates, Messrs. Ellis Ames and Abner C. Goodell, are the competent editors; and "The Boundary Disputes of Connecticut," by Clarence W. Bowen, from Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr. This volume contains several maps and charts, in the last of which the present boundaries of Connecticut, as settled by agreement between that State and New York, and ratified by the Congress of the United States at the session of 1880-81, are published for the first time. Mr. Alexander McReel, of Athol, had given the manuscript orderly book of the company of militia raised in Petersham, Massachusetts, under the command of Captain Ephraim Stearns, which served for about three months in Colonel John Rand's regiment, as part of the garrison of West Point in 1780, at the time of Arnold's treason.*

* The officers of the company were: Ephraim Stearns, Captain; Benjamin Townsend and John Rogers, Lieutenants; Timothy Metcalf, Luther Stevens, Elisha Sears, and Hopestill Jenison, Sergeants; and Simon Heald and Jonathan Smith (with two vacancies), Corporals. Nathaniel Phillips was fifer. A list of ninety-four men follows the names of these officers.

The orders of Aug. 6, 1780, contain the announcement: "The Hon. General Arnold takes command in this department. Head-quarters, Robinson's House." On September 25, when the treason became known, at 8 P.M., the following "after orders" are issued: "One captain, one subaltern, three sergeants, and fifty rank and file to be turned out immediately with arms and blankets. The captain will wait on Col. Wade for orders."

The ink in which the latest entries in the book are written has faded very much, but we are able to decipher, with difficulty, these "after orders," bearing date, 2 A.M., September 26: "The following disposition of the troops to take place immediately, and officers commanding regiments and corps will be careful to have their men completed with arms and ammunition, and every thing in the

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from Mr. William E. Hartpole Lecky, accepting his election as an Honorary Member.

The Council reported that the heirs of the late Dr. Isaac Winslow, of Marshfield, had united in an agreement to transfer the Winslow family portraits and other articles placed in the Cabinet of this Society as a deposit about fifty years ago, to the custody of the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, whose hall has lately been made a secure depository for memorials of the Pilgrim Fathers.

After explanatory remarks by Mr. Winslow Warren, the following vote was adopted:—

Voted, To surrender the portraits and other articles reclaimed by Mr. Isaac Winslow, of Hingham, in behalf of himself and others, whenever the Cabinet-keeper shall receive a satisfactory acknowledgment from all the heirs of Dr. Isaac Winslow, late of Marshfield.*

The TREASURER stated that the principal of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund had, by accumulation of interest, now reached the sum of ten thousand dollars, the limit assigned by the vote passed by the Society, June 14, 1877. He offered, with the approval of the Council, the following order, which was adopted:—

Voted, That the sum of \$157.87, being a part of the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the year ending Sept. 1, 1882, be and hereby is appropriated toward the publication of the "Trumbull Papers."

most perfect order for immediate action. Officers commanding regiments will take, with their own regiments, those regiments that are divided by the field officers of the same agreeably to seniority. *Positions*: Col. Ward's regiment at Fort Arnold; Col. Bartlett's at Fort Putnam; Col. Murray to send one hundred men to Fort Willis, and the regiment to Fort Webb; Col. Rand's regiment to be divided equally between redoubts Nos. 1 and 2; Col. Thayer's at Nos. 3 and 4. All the draughted artificers to join their respective regiments immediately. Major Bauman will have every thing in his department in order for immediate action." — Eds.

* This deposit consisted of the portraits of Governor Edward Winslow, Governor Josiah Winslow, Mrs. Penelope Winslow, General John Winslow, Dr. Isaac Winslow, John Winslow, and Mrs. Alice Wensley; the sword of General Winslow, the coat-of-arms of the Winslow family, an arm-chair, and a large round table. The chair and table were returned to Mr. Isaac Winslow by vote of the Society at their meeting in December, 1881. With that gentleman's consent, and by authority of the Council, the Cabinet-keeper has caused a fine copy of the portrait of Governor Edward Winslow to be made by Mr. Edgar Parker, for the Society's Cabinet. — Eds.

Mr. CHARLES DEANE placed upon the table a photographic reproduction of the interesting map known as Cabot's *mappe-monde*, preserved among the treasures of the National Library at Paris. This map was found in Germany in 1843, and acquired by the Paris library the following year. It is a printed map, but the only copy known. A description of it was prepared by the eminent scholar, M. d'Avezac, and published in the "Bulletin" of the French Geographical Society for 1857, 4th ser. vol. xiv. pp. 268-270. M. Jomard included it in his "Monuments de la Géographie," and this learned editor intended to prepare a volume of *texte*, which should include the historical inscriptions, or *légendes*, on the sides of this map, but his death interrupted the work. There are seventeen of these inscriptions in duplicate, that is to say, in Spanish and Latin, and a few others in Spanish only. From one of them we get the well-known extract that John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian, his son, discovered a country hitherto unknown, in the year 1494 [1497], on the 24th of June, about five o'clock in the morning. The landfall is laid down at Cape Breton. All these inscriptions are reproduced in the photograph now presented.

Mr. Deane said that he would not now give a more full description of the map, or enter into any discussion of the different opinions concerning it, nor of the questions raised by it. He contented himself with giving an account of the attempts that had been made to obtain a good copy of the map and its legends. Having occasion to make a study of the Cabot voyages last winter, he was obliged to send to Paris for copies to be made of several of the inscriptions, at a large expense. On receiving these, Mr. Winsor, the Librarian of Harvard College, suggested that it was practicable to have a photographic copy taken of the Paris map, with its inscriptions; that the experiment was worth making, if the authorities of the National Library would consent. As Mr. Winthrop, the President of this Society, was about to sail for Europe, the matter was laid before him, and he readily entered into the scheme; and, thanks to his kind intervention during his late visit to Paris, all the difficulties have been overcome, and the photograph is a great success. The expense was considerable; but as a dozen copies could be taken about as cheaply as one, it has been divided among several subscribers, for prominent American libraries. This, an advance copy, has been sent to this Society as a gift from the President; and the additional copies, ten in number, will soon arrive for distribution.

The following votes, offered by Mr. Deane, were adopted:—

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the President, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D., for his successful intervention in securing photographic copies of the Cabot map in the National Library at Paris, and also for his generous gift of a copy of the photograph to this Society.

Voted, That the Cabot map, just communicated to the Society, be referred to a committee to be appointed by the chair.

The Vice-President appointed as the committee, Messrs. Deane, Winsor, and G. Dexter.

The Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, D.D., spoke as follows of his late visit to Nazing, in England:—

While in London, a few weeks ago, I received a letter from a brother living in Georgia, who advised me, if I had a day to spare, to visit one of the cradles of our race, only a few miles from the metropolis. He told me that some of our ancestors came from Nazing in the "Lyon," the same ship which in 1631 brought to Boston John Eliot and others, who settled around Stony Brook, in Roxbury. Nazing is a village in Essex, six miles beyond Waltham Cross and Waltham Abbey. Waltham Abbey is fourteen miles from London, and is on the river Lea,—a stream made famous as that where Isaak Walton loved to fish.

Stirred by this suggestion, I set off with some friends one fine day at the end of August, and soon found myself at Waltham Abbey. This is a church so ancient that a part of it dates back to a period before the Conquest. Somewhere in the churchyard repose the remains of Harold, the last Saxon king. In a corner of this churchyard is the shop kept by W. Winters, an enthusiastic antiquary, who very kindly consented to accompany us to Nazing. Our drive led us through pleasant fields, and along a road which has not been changed for many hundred years. Along this road came John Eliot and his companions, escaping to the dreary solitudes of New England, to its rude climate and many hardships, counting themselves happy thus to escape the rage and cruelty of the rulers of the English Church.

The houses in Nazing are much the same as they were in 1631. William Curtis, who married Sarah Eliot, the sister of the Apostle John Eliot, built a house in Roxbury, Massachusetts, on Stony Brook, in 1639. This house is still stand-

ing, and is occupied by his descendant in the seventh generation. William Curtis was the ancestor of most of the families of Curtis in New England; and I am also descended from him through my grandmother Clarke, whose maiden name was Martha Curtis. The old house is one of a kind frequently seen in Massachusetts; being two stories high in front and only one behind, thus having a long roof in the rear. Such houses originally faced the south, and were meant to get all the sun on that side, and escape as much of the northern blasts as possible. But as men often continue a custom from habit or example, when the original reason is forgotten, we sometimes find houses of this form facing north or east instead of south. In such instances, I believe, it will be found that they were built in the eighteenth century, and not in the seventeenth. At all events, the oldest of these residences face the south. I saw a similar form of house in Nazing, and think it probable that the original settlers of New England brought it with them from Old England.

The old church of Nazing stands on a little eminence, and by ascending to the top of the tower I was able to look over parts of four counties. The tower, like the church, was built in courses of limestone and flint. In ascending I had to push my way through the remains of the nests made by many generations of rooks, who had inhabited the old tower. The church itself consisted of a nave and one aisle, in which last are still shown the old oaken seats on which John Eliot and William Curtis sat as boys, with Ruggles, Heath, Graves, Payson, Peacock, and others, who afterward emigrated to Roxbury. As I looked down from the tower, I saw Epping Forest in the distance, and nearer the wild, bare common where tradition tells us that Boadicea fought with and defeated the Roman army. Still nearer were the pastures, the grass-lots, the ploughed fields, and old farm-houses, which looked so much like those of Massachusetts that I felt quite at home among them. I was disposed to paraphrase the lines of Caroline Bowles, addressed to some old family portraits:—

“ Not quite companionless,
When, in each face,
Met me, familiar,
The stamp of my race.”

I could say I was —

“ Not quite a foreigner,
When, in this place,
Met me, familiar,
The homes of my race.”

Perhaps some of my brethren of this Society may also have visited Nazing. Those who have done so will not be sorry to have their memories of the place revived by my description. And those who have not been there will be pleased to hear of the village where originated the Curtises and Heaths of Roxbury, and so many more of those with whose names we are familiar, and where was born John Eliot, that sweet and holy soul, who found letters and grammar for a before unwritten language; who translated the Bible into this strange tongue; who had it printed; who taught the Indians to read it; who went among the rude savages without fear, and who made them his friends. The pure flame of his loving faith shines among the more lurid lights of New England Puritanism,—

“*Velut inter ignes
Luna minores.*”

Mr. C. C. SMITH submitted the short historical sketch of the Society, which he had been requested to prepare by the Council at their meeting in June last:—

The Massachusetts Historical Society is the oldest historical society in the United States, and had its origin in the new life inspired by the formation of a national government. Its chief founder was the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, at that time minister of the religious society worshipping in the Federal Street meeting-house in Boston, and known as the author of a History of New Hampshire, which still holds a foremost place among State Histories. With him were associated four other students of early American history, all of them under fifty years of age,—the Rev. John Eliot, minister of the New North Church; the Rev. Peter Thacher, minister of the Brattle Street Church; William Tudor, a prominent lawyer in Boston; and William Winthrop, of Cambridge. Having formed the general plan of the Society, these gentlemen invited the co-operation of five other historical scholars,—the Rev. James Freeman, minister of King's Chapel; James Sullivan, afterward Governor of the State; Thomas Wallcut, a zealous antiquary; William Baylies, a well-known physician of Dighton, who had served in each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts; and George Richards Minot, author of a History of Massachusetts and a History of Shays's Rebellion. On the 24th of January, 1791, less than two years after the organization of a national government, eight of the little group met at the house of Mr. Tudor, adopted a constitution

limiting the number of members to "thirty citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," and organized the Society. At the next meeting several of the members handed in lists of books and manuscripts which they were willing to give toward the formation of an historical library. These gifts form the nucleus of the priceless collection now owned by the Society, and numbering at the date of the Annual Meeting in 1882 upward of 27,000 bound volumes, and nearly 60,000 pamphlets.

Three years later, in February, 1794, the Society was incorporated by an act of the Legislature, which restricted the number of members to sixty, exclusive of Honorary Members "residing without the limits of this Commonwealth"; but by an additional act passed in 1857 the Society was authorized to enlarge its list of Resident Members to one hundred. This continues to be the limit to the number of members residing within the State. There is no charter restriction on the number of Corresponding or Honorary Members who may be elected.

From the first the objects of the Society were the collection, preservation, and diffusion of the materials for American history; and so early as 1792 the first volume of Collections was printed. This volume has been twice reprinted, and up to this time has been followed by forty-seven other volumes, comprising in part reprints of scarce publications relating to American history, and in part original memoirs, and early letters and other documents which had never before been printed. Among the more important documents thus made accessible are Hubbard's History of New England and Bradford's History of Plymouth, both of which were first printed by the Society, Governor Bradford's Letter Book, the Body of Liberties, a valuable collection of Winthrop Letters, the correspondence with reference to the donations to the town of Boston after the passage of the Boston Port Bill, the Mather Papers, Judge Sewall's Diary, &c. Beside these volumes the Society has also printed eighteen volumes of Proceedings, covering the record of all its meetings for upward of ninety years, and including numerous historical documents of permanent value, and discussions by the members upon interesting or important historical questions. In the Collections or Proceedings are memoirs of nearly all the deceased members of the Society, including many of the most distinguished men of their time in Massachusetts. A gallery of historical portraits has also been formed, and many interesting relics have been gathered and placed under the charge of the Cabinet-keeper.

At three different periods courses of public lectures have been given under the auspices of the Society, for the promotion of the objects for which it was formed. Of these only one has been published,—a course of twelve lectures on subjects relating to the early history of Massachusetts, delivered before the Lowell Institute in the early part of 1869.

The income of the Society is derived in part from admission fees and an annual assessment paid by the resident members, in part from the rental of a portion of its building leased to the City of Boston, and in part from the sales of its publications and from interest on invested funds, which now amount to about \$67,000. Of this sum a little less than two thirds came from gentlemen not members of the Society; and to one of these, the late Thomas Dowse, it is indebted for the munificent gift of his own library.

The rooms of the Society are at No. 30 Tremont Street, Boston, in the building owned by it, subject to a mortgage and to the payment of interest on a portion of its permanent funds. A part of this estate was purchased in 1833, and the remainder in 1856. In 1872 the building then standing was taken down, and a new building, intended to be thoroughly fire-proof, was erected in its place, and was first occupied in 1873. The two lower stories have been occupied since that time by the Probate Court and the Registry of Deeds.

Colonel HENRY LEE spoke of the old Clark house in Garden Court Street, of which he had given some account at the meeting of February, 1881, and particularly of the panels of the north parlor on the right of the entrance hall. Two of these panels were once in the possession of the late Dr. Winslow Lewis, and Colonel Lee had now traced others to the cabinet of the Maine Historical Society, they having been part of the estate of the late Rev. Daniel Austin, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Dr. WILLIAM EVERETT related some interesting particulars of his vacation visit to England and Scotland, speaking of Rugby, Wenlock Abbey,—where a curious specimen of early English sculpture in the local limestone, part of a conduit or fountain, had lately been discovered,—some of the noble cathedrals, and the quiet graveyard of a Scotch village, with its quaint inscriptions.

Dr. ELLIS stated that the Society had been asked to send a representative, in the person of its presiding officer, to the Webster commemoration then taking place at Marshfield. He said, also, that the late letters from Mr. Winthrop con-

tained the welcome news that he expected to sail for home on the 18th of November.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR asked if any member present could inform him when and how the name of Columbia was given to the Federal District. After some examination he was inclined to think that the name was never legally applied, but grew into use by common consent.*

Mr. GEORGE DEXTER communicated, from the Belknap manuscripts, given to the Society in 1858 by Miss Elizabeth Belknap, the following journal, kept by Dr. Belknap during a visit which he made in the early summer of 1796, in company with Dr. Morse, to the Oneida Indians.

The occasion of the visit of Dr. Belknap and Dr. Morse to these New York Indians was this:—

In 1710 a society was formed in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge, and later, by an act of the fourth year of George I., its scope was enlarged and extended to the American colonies. This society was interested in the conversion of the Indians, and, to further its objects in this country, had what were called Boards of Correspondents in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and perhaps in other colonies. The Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the well-known missionary to the Oneidas, commissioned first by the Connecticut board in 1766, had transferred himself to the jurisdiction of the board in

* I have not succeeded in finding any earlier application of the name than that in a letter of the Commissioners, Thomas Johnson and Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, and Dr. David Stuart, of Virginia, who were appointed by Washington to superintend the laying out of the grant; and in this, addressed to their engineer, Major Lenfant, Sept. 9, 1791, they inform him that they "have agreed that the Federal District shall be called the Territory of Columbia, and the Federal City the City of Washington." See the paper by A. R. Spofford, on Washington City, published in the Maryland Historical Society's Fund Publications, p. 53, and Mr. J. H. B. Latrobe's Address before the American Institute of Architects, at Washington, Nov. 16, 1881. Washington had issued his proclamation about the District, March 30, 1791; but in that he does not apply any name. All legislation about the matter in the Maryland Assembly, up to Nov. 25, 1791, simply defines the tract, without giving it a name; but on that date a bill was brought in entitled "An act concerning the Territory of Columbia," &c. This bill passed Dec. 19, 1791; and, referring to Washington's paper of March 30, it speaks of the District "which has since been called the Territory of Columbia." Maryland Laws, 1791, ch. xlv. By this it appears that the Maryland Assembly recognized the name given by the Commissioners; but it does not appear at what precise date the Commissioners gave the name, nor that any specific authority was given them to bestow any name. It is also certain that "Territory" was the appellation originally used, and it is employed in Morse's Geography for several years after that date. It will be observed that the earliest bill introducing the name, in the Statutes at Large (1796), vol. i. p. 461, calls it "District of Columbia." The late President John Quincy Adams was clearly in error in saying that the name was given in the act of Congress organizing the District. See Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 316.—J. W.

Boston in 1770, owing to some disagreement with Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, whose pupil he had been. The Rev. John Sergeant was also partly supported by the society in the mission established at New Stockbridge. Mr. Kirkland's labors in the cause of Indian civilization and education, and his devotion to it, are matters of history. A memoir of him by our associate, the Rev. Dr. Lothrop, was included by President Sparks in his "Library of American Biography." About the end of the year 1792 an unfortunate accident injured Mr. Kirkland's eyesight, and his general health became so much affected that he was obliged to return to the East for medical treatment. This opportunity he used for forwarding his plan for Indian education, one result of which was the foundation, in 1793, of the Hamilton Oneida Academy, now Hamilton College. In January, 1794, a communication, signed by eleven chiefs, "in behalf of the nation," was sent to the Boston board, charging Mr. Kirkland with want of interest in his mission and asking his removal. After some conference and correspondence, a committee was appointed to visit this mission and that at New Stockbridge, and report generally on the condition of affairs. Dr. Belknap and Dr. Morse constituted this committee. They left Boston, June 9, and Dr. Belknap reached home, July 6. Dr. Morse parted company with him at Albany on the return journey, and made a visit to New York.

It appears also that, previous to the communication of the Indian chiefs, a letter had been written to one of the directors of the parent society in Scotland (and read to the board there) by a clergyman at Albany, the Rev. John McDonald. Mr. McDonald had made a visit to the Indian settlements, and appeared to be shocked by what he saw there. He reported the complete failure of the attempts to Christianize the savages. Of the Oneidas and Mohegans he said: "They are deplorably ignorant. We have effectually conveyed our vices, but not the gospel, to them." Of the Senecas and other tribes: "All that the most learned Seneca knows of Christianity is that, when angry or drunk, he can blaspheme the name of God and the Saviour of Christians. The Tuscaroras have obtained a few silver crosses from the French Canadians, but both are ignorant of its meaning." This letter was communicated to the Board of Correspondents in Boston by Dr. Kemp, the Secretary of the Scotland society, in February, 1794. A second letter, dated October, 1795, shows that the plan of sending a committee to visit the missions originated with the Massachusetts board, and was approved by the

parent society, who suggested certain queries to be answered by the missionaries and others.

Dr. Belknap and Dr. Morse were appointed May 26, 1796, and we find among the "Belknap Papers" the official notification of their selection, signed by Oliver Wendell, President, and Peter Thacher, Secretary. It contains sixteen questions to which answers are to be obtained. To these the committee added eight more.

A memorandum-book, begun by Dr. Belknap evidently in preparation for the duty assigned him, is worthy of notice. It contains copies of the letters of Dr. Kemp above mentioned, and many items of value, with extracts from books, and manuscript accounts, including copious notes from General Lincoln's journal of the visit he had made, as commissioner to make a treaty with the Indians northwest of the Ohio, in 1793. This journal was afterward published by the Society in 1836, as part of their Collections (3d ser. vol. *y.* pp. 107-176). The memorandum-book contains also names of towns on the road to the missions, and their distances from each other; statistics about the Indians; particulars of the foundation of Hamilton Oneida Academy; and the grant of lands made by the State of New York to Mr. Kirkland and his sons. Here is also the result of a conference which Dr. Belknap had with General Schuyler during his stay at Albany. That officer thought there was little or no prospect of civilization among the Oneidas. Here are notes taken at some of the conferences held at Oneida and New Stockbridge, which the committee doubtless used in the preparation of their report, and extracts from the journal kept by the Rev. Mr. Sergeant; besides sundry matters relating to the general subject, entered after Dr. Belknap's return to Boston. A strict account of the expenses of the committee was kept by Dr. Belknap. It appears from this that he received \$50 from Judge Wendell, \$50 from Deacon Storer, and \$126 from Deacon Mason; that the actual expenses of both gentlemen on the journey to Oneida and return were \$113.93; their preparatory expenses \$8; that Mr. James Dean was paid \$15 for services as interpreter, three and a half days; that the supply of the two pulpits during the pastors' absence, four Sundays, cost \$48; that \$1.50 was paid for "Dr. Deane's husbandry, as a present to Captain Hendrick,"* and \$2.50 for De Witt's map of New

* In another copy of the cash account, written on a separate paper and pasted into the book, this item is erased. Dr. Deane's husbandry was perhaps "The New England Farmer," by the Rev. Samuel Deane, of Portland, the first edition of which was published at Worcester in 1790.

York. Dr. Morse spent \$16 additional from Albany to Boston by way of New York.

The report of the committee was printed in this Society's Collections (1st ser. vol. v. pp. 12-32), in 1798. Mr. Kirkland's state of health was such that, as will be seen by this journal, he could give the committee little assistance in their investigations. The complaint against him is not alluded to in the printed report, nor in the manuscript copy among the "Belknap Papers." He prepared as soon as possible a vindication of himself, and the Board of Correspondents voted unanimously, Aug. 25, 1796, "that the complaints exhibited against Mr. Kirkland are not supported, and they are dismissed accordingly." But the society in Scotland saw fit to dissolve their connection with him, and notified the board in Boston to that effect. Mr. Kirkland applied to be reappointed the Society's missionary some years afterward, but without success.* He died, after a short illness, Feb. 28, 1808.

The journal now printed was kept, day by day, by Dr. Belknap during the tedious journeys to and from the Oneida country and his stay there. It contains naturally many things about the Indians which were incorporated into the committee's report, and that report should perhaps be read in connection with this diary. But it contains also a vivid picture of the means of travel nearly a century ago and the condition of the country. Dr. Belknap was an acute observer of men and manners, and a student of nature. He did not entertain a sanguine expectation of the success of the attempts to civilize the Indians, and his biographer states that he severed his connection with the society not long after his return to Boston.

Thursday, June 9, 1796. I set out from Boston in the stage at five in the morning, and rode to Brookfield, in the county of Worcester. The weather was warm and dry and the wind south, which made it very dusty riding. Company in the stage very entertaining and instructive: Dr. Shepard, of Northampton, Captain Park Holland, of Belchertown, and Mr. Biglow, of Petersham, all members of the General Court, returning home.

Captain Holland has been a surveyor of Eastern lands, and is well acquainted with the country and tribe of Penobscot. He says the Indians there amount to three hundred and twenty in number. He has an exact list of the names of each family, and they average at four and a half to a family. They are careful lest they should dimin-

* See on this matter Dr. Lothrop's "Life," pp. 347-362.

ish in number, as other tribes; to prevent which they have encouraged early marriages, and have made it a strict regulation that the squaws shall drink no rum till they are past child-bearing. They are frequently obliged to delay marriage a long time for want of a priest, and in some instances travel as far as Quebec to be married; yet there are scarcely any instances of incontinence, and no illegitimate children. As they have been for above a century converted to the popish religion, they are much attached to its ceremonies. They have a church at one of their towns, in which is a vessel of holy water. The church is kept shut, except when any priest comes among them; but there is a hole through which a person can put his hand and dip it in the water. He was once passing the river by this church in company with an Indian, who insisted on going ashore that he might cross himself with the holy water, and then re-embarked and proceeded on the voyage. They are strict observers of the Sabbath, and will not travel by land or water on that day but in cases of necessity.

Friday, June 10. Rode to Northampton, weather cloudy and sultry. P.M., passed through two thunder-showers under Mount Holyoke. It is pleasing to see the fields and meadows and trees in the most luxuriant growth, promising fine crops of grass, grain, and fruit, the roads mended or mending, and good improvements in the mode of making roads. At several places we found aqueducts. The water is brought in pipes from springs in the hills and fields to the roadside, and there conducted to troughs or tubs for watering cattle. At one place there was a tube and reservoir which went to the top of a house, and must be serviceable in case of fire. This was Quintin's inn at Ware.*

It is also very agreeable to observe the number of new meeting-houses and schoolhouses, as well as dwelling-houses, along the road, and the show of elegance in ornament and painting which appears in them. We passed through Hadley in the rain, within half a mile of the house of Mr. Russell, the first minister, where Whalley and Goffe, the regicides of Charles I., were concealed. [We] were informed by one innholder that the house was taken down last year, and that in the cellar was discovered a vault curiously built and covered with stone. Mr. Williams, of Northampton, thinks that only part of the house is taken down; and that the stone vault, being under the other part which is still standing, was not opened. He has promised to make further inquiry.† At Northampton water is brought into the town by an aqueduct of above a mile in length. The work was performed by a Mr. Prescott of that place. Connecticut River here is eighty rods wide at this season, the intervalle two miles wide.

Saturday, June 11. Rode over the mountains of Hampshire and

* This sentence and a few others occasionally through the diary are written in ink of a darker color, and may perhaps have been added at a later time, when Dr. Belknap had returned home. We do not think it necessary to distinguish them in printing. — Eds.

† See Stiles's "History of the Judges"; and Judd's "History of Hadley," chap. xix. — Eds.

Berkshire forty miles to Pittsfield. Weather misty and rainy; clouds resting on the summits of the mountains, and frequently falling in showers. Roads naturally very bad, but by labor are made passable, though with difficulty. The carriage broke down twice; but no great damage, except a little detention and working in the rain to repair it.

Passed Westfield River, in the township of Chesterfield. It is rapid and lined with curious rocks, some of which stand in the middle; they are formed in perpendicular laminæ. In a quarry at some distance west of the river, which is now opened and near the road, we saw very curious cuttings and splittings of this rock. It will bear the hammer and stand the fire. It is formed into hearths and jams, underpinning and door-stones. We measured two of the longest, which resembled two sticks of timber. They were twenty-seven feet in length and about ten inches in the square. This rock is of a dark gray color, and the gravel made by its fragments is very good for roads and walks. One man told us it was also good manure for corn, and that he has frequently put a shovel full of it into hills of corn instead of dung.

June 12. Kept Sabbath at Pittsfield, and preached for Mr. Allen, P.M. He has been settled here thirty-two years. At the time of his settlement and for some years after, the lands hereabouts were the hunting-ground of the Stockbridge Indians, full of deer and other game, which cultivation has gradually destroyed. This town lies on the main branch of Housatonick River, which we crossed four times in approaching it. This river takes its rise in Partridgefield, which is the height of land. Another branch comes from Lanesboro', and joins it below Pittsfield. Then it runs southward about one hundred and forty miles, and falls into Long Island Sound between Stratford and Milford. Pittsfield is a good township of land, well cultivated; the roads in good order; several handsome houses, painted; a new meeting-house, built 1791, well planned and executed, finished and painted with stone color outside and blue inside. The steps are of white marble found in the town. In the churchyard are gravestones of the same, and of a finer marble found in Lanesboro', the same that is used in building the new State House in Boston; also, two or three kinds of freestone. From the steeple is an extensive view of the town and surrounding mountains. Old Hoosuck lies northward, and appeared cloud-capped just before sunset, which indicates more foul weather.

Mr. Van Scoik came to see us, and gave me a letter to Mr. Van Rensselaer, of Albany. One I had before from Judge Wendell. This day was cloudy in the morning, clear in the P.M., and the evening bright moonlight.

We have now travelled from Boston,—

Thursday, to Brookfield	66 miles.
Friday, to Northampton	34 „
Saturday, to Pittsfield	40 „
	<hr/>
	140 miles.

and have not accomplished one half of our intended journey. At Pittsfield is a post-office, in which I deposited a letter to my friend, Dr. Clarke, in Boston.*

From Pittsfield to Albany, 40 miles; from Boston, 180.

Monday, June 13. At five in the morning set out in the stage for Albany; a thick fog. As we rose Hancock Mountain, five miles from Pittsfield, we seemed to get above one fog, and another hung on the brow of the mountain above us. There is a fine view from this mountain, but we could not enjoy it by reason of the weather. As we descended the western side we came to New Lebanon in New York State; stopped to visit the springs, which have been so famous. The water issues from the ground on the south side of a hill, bubbling up through the gravelly bottom into a reservoir which is lined with stone. It is warm as new milk, and I discovered nothing in the taste different from common water. It is said to be impregnated with sulphur, and is good in cutaneous, scorbutic, spasmodic, and rheumatic complaints. The neighbors tell of great cures and frequent reliefs experienced by means of this water; particularly of one man who, being unable to stand or walk, was put into the warm pool, and instantly stood upright. On a return of his complaint he was put into another water issuing from the same hill and not thus impregnated, where he would have been drowned if he had not been immediately taken out. He was then plunged into the warm pool, and instantly recovered the use of his limbs.

Here is a convenient bathing-house, accommodated with steps, seats, and a rope by which persons may hold themselves up in the water. It is about two or three feet deep. There are several boarding-houses about the spring, and a considerable resort of people from all parts. The spring has been in reputation about thirty years.

When the sun was about three hours high the vapors ascended from the surrounding hills and rose into clouds, leaving a bright sun to enliven creation, and an immense dew on the grass.

Here are two villages of Shakers, who carry on manufactures of various kinds, and have two places of worship, one on each side of a hill. Some time since the magistracy of the town went and opened the doors of the manufactory house, and gave liberty to any of them to withdraw from their confinement. Twenty-five immediately quitted them, some of whom showed scars and other marks of abuse which they had received from the leaders, whom they have since prosecuted and recovered damages. This story was told us at New Lebanon; but Van Schaik says it is not true.†

* This was the Rev. John Clarke of the First Church, Boston, a friend and colleague in the ministry and the Historical Society. Dr. Belknap wrote a notice of him, published in the Collections, 1st ser. vol. vi. Mrs. Marcou, in her "Life of Dr. Belknap," pp. 234, 235, gives some extracts from Dr. Clarke's replies to Belknap's letters written on this tour. — Eds.

† President Dwight, who visited New Lebanon in 1799, and again subsequently, tells much worse stories about the Shakers. Dwight's "Travels," London ed., vol. iii. 187-168. — Eds.

After breakfast we rode through the townships of New Lebanon and Stephen-town. Here were vast quantities of pine timber. Many of the trees are killed by girdling and by fire, and are still standing. The land is well cultivated and productive, the season very promising. A brook which rises in New Lebanon passes through Stephen Town, and swells into a considerable stream falling into Hudson's River at Kenderhook. Several saw-mills on this stream; mill logs not more than sixteen feet long; many shingles and clapboards made at various places. Esquire Scamerhorn owns these mills and the land about them, and keeps a pretty good inn.

Passing over a mountain in Stephen Town, we had a grand and extensive view of the surrounding country. The Kaats-kill Mountains bounded the prospect westward. These lie beyond the Hudson, and appear very majestic. A man who was at work in his field near the road told us that from a neighboring summit might be seen the water of Hudson's River and the city of Albany, distant about twenty miles.

The lands through which we passed this day are well cultivated; fields of rye, wheat, flax, and clover, good young orchards. Some houses built in the Dutch style, and several thatched barns and out-houses. On the signboards of some houses was written "Cake and Beer." About 5 P.M. crossed the ferry, and landed at the southern part of the city of Albany. Put up at Trowbridge's Inn. Met Lieutenant-Governor Van Rensselaer in the street, to whom I delivered my letters, and he kindly invited me to make his house my lodgings, which I accepted. Dr. Morse was invited to lodge at the house of Mr. Elkanah Watson.

Tuesday, June 14. Received a packet of letters from Governor Jay, which will introduce us to the acquaintance of gentlemen here and at other places on our route, and open to us every source of information respecting the business of our mission. I delivered one of these letters to the Lieutenant-Governor and another to General Schuyler. This day dined at the Lieutenant-Governor's in company with General Schuyler, General Ten Broek, Judge Sturgis, of Fairfield, Dr. Morse, Mr. Ellison, the Episcopal clergyman of this place, and several other gentlemen. Visited Mr. Elkanah Watson, formerly of Plymouth, and Mr. Elisha Kane, merchant here. Part of our dinner this day was a fine dish of green peas, which Governor Van Rensselaer's gardener is ambitious of raising so as to have them by King George III.'s birthday [June 4], he being an Englishman. We had also a fine dessert of strawberries of the wild kind, which are sold here for one shilling per *pound* York money. Mr. Rensselaer was educated at Harvard College, and graduated in 1782. Mr. Bentley, of Salem, was his tutor, and William D. Peck his classmate. General Schuyler is a self-taught genius, a complete mathematician, of great penetration and sagacity; has a thorough acquaintance with the Indians, and is now going to Fort Stanwix to superintend the canal which is cutting from thence to unite the waters of the Mohawk River with those of Wood Creek, which empties into the

Oneida Lake and communicates by another river with Lake Ontario, His age is sixty-two, consequently born 1734.*

This day arrived the first division of the Federal troops, consisting of one hundred from West Point, who are going to take possession of the British posts of Oswego and Niagara. They immediately encamped on Pinxter-Hill west of the city, with their artillery in front. They are under the command of Captain Bruff.†

I shall omit a particular description of Albany till my return from the Indian country, but cannot help remarking one very shocking sight which fell under my observation this day. I had been on the turret of the prison, which stands in an elevated situation, to take a view of the city, the river, and the surrounding country, which indeed was a very fine prospect. On passing through the prison yard I saw several coffins with human bones, open, partly above ground, and some bones scattered about the yard. These are said to be the coffins and bones of soldiers who died here in the wars of 1756, when a fort stood on this spot, the remains of some part of which are still visible. I inquired why this shocking spectacle was allowed, and was told it was owing to the negligence of the sheriff, whose business it was to have them covered. The hill has been dug away to make a situation for the prison, by which means the coffins were exposed.

Old Fort Orange, built by the Dutch, was situate at the shore of the river near the ferry, on the spot where De Witt's house is built.

Wednesday, June 15. Rode in company with the Lieutenant-Governor and Dr. Morse to the great fall called Cohoes, in Mohawk River. Its appearance from the bridge, about a mile below, is majestic, but more so from an eminence near it on the south side. The extent of the fall is about one thousand feet, if measured by the breadth of the river; but there is a very large projecting rock between the centre and the north shore, which makes the real extent greater. The perpendicular height is said to be sixty feet, and I believe this is not far from the truth. The rock over which the water flows is of the same kind with that which lines each shore, — a black, shelly rock, soft, and easily broken with any kind of instrument; but where the water runs over it is polished very smooth. At the foot of the fall the water was shallow, and several persons were fishing. We bought of them several very fine pike, which we carried to Lansingburg, and they were boiled for our dinner. These are the first of the kind

* General Schuyler was born Nov. 22, 1733. — Eds.

† Pinkster Hill is the eminence where the State capitol was afterward built. It was the scene of the negro carnival, or "Pinkster Jubilee," which began every year, while slavery existed in the State, on Whitmonday, and lasted a week. The excesses committed at it occasioned the passage of an ordinance forbidding many of its features, by the City Council in 1811, and the anniversary fell into disuse. There is an account of the festival by Dr. James Eights, in Munsell's "Collections on the History of Albany," vol. ii. pp. 323-327.

Captain James Bruff had been an officer in the Revolutionary army. He was promoted major in 1803, and resigned in 1807. See Gardner's "Dictionary of Officers of the United States Army." — Eds.

which I ever tasted, and were very delicate eating. We came down again and crossed the bridge, which is eleven hundred feet long, built on sixteen stone piers. The ascent on the north side from the bridge is very steep, cut through the rock. It was at first thought impracticable to make a road here; but by experiment and perseverance they found it practicable, and even *ploughed* through the rock.

Passed through Waterford, a village at one of the sprouts of the Mohawk, in the township of Halfmoon; then crossed the Hudson to Lansingburg, and there dined. P.M., rode to Troy on a level road, ascended the high land to obtain a good prospect of the river, but could not gain the spot where we were told was the best view; the land had been newly fenced and the roads altered. Came down again, crossed the Hudson at Troy, and returned to the Lieutenant-Governor's seat. By the way saw a seine drawn on the bank of the river, and a sturgeon caught of seven feet in length. They cut his tail, and he bled to death in a few minutes. Evening visited General Schuyler, who proposed to carry me to Skenectada to-morrow. The country through which we passed this day is well cultivated, chiefly the intervale lands of the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers; large fields of wheat and rye.

High-water at Albany at the same time as at Sandy Hook. The flood is just one hour later at the end of every ten miles up the river. At the end of sixty miles it is high-water in the river at the same time that it is low-water at the city of New York.

The climate of Albany is between the influence of the easterly Atlantic winds and the vapors of the great lakes. The wind is for the most part either north or south, following the course of the river.

Thursday morning, June 16. Rode with General Schuyler in his own carriage to Schenectada, — a town on the banks of the Mohawk, sixteen miles from Albany. The road chiefly pitch-pine land and deep sand. Some farms on the summit land. Dr. Morse went in a private carriage with Mr. Watson to see the glassworks, and came to Schenectada four or five hours after me. I got there at twelve o'clock, and went to see General Schuyler's new boat, in which he invited us to go up the Mohawk with him. He is going to Fort Stanwix to oversee the cutting of a canal from thence to Wood Creek. The boat was then painting, and the weather damp and wet. Before dinner it began to rain, and continued to rain all the P.M. and half the night, which deprived me of the pleasure of seeing this place as much as I intended.

The inhabitants were originally Dutch, as were those of Albany. Their descendants retain their language and manners, especially their fondness for smoking tobacco. General Schuyler carries his pipe, and smokes in his carriage and about the street.

The streets are regular; I think three in number. There are three places of worship, and a college called Union College. Dr. John Smith, brother to Samuel Stanhope Smith, of New Jersey College, is the president. A fine body of meadow adjacent to the town.

In the late war the Oneidas retreated to this place and encamped

on the high land above the town, where they remained till the war was over, and then returned to their own country.

In the evening we determined to go in the stage, hoping to come down the river with the general at his return.

Friday, June 17. At five o'clock crossed the Mohawk River at Schenectada in the stage. Foggy, damp, unpleasant weather; roads wet and miry. Sometimes the mist would thicken to a shower, and sometimes be seen hovering on the summits of the hills. Before noon the weather grew clear and hot.

This A.M. we passed by "Guy Park," the seat of Guy Johnson, who married a daughter of Sir William, and succeeded him in the office of superintendent of the Indians, before the late war. It is a tract of one mile square on the north side of the river, — a large, well-finished stone house, which was much damaged and abused during the war. The whole estate now belongs to a Mr. Miles from Connecticut, who keeps an inn. He bought it for £950 New York money, — a mere trifle.

Passed by the first seat of the late Sir William Johnson, consisting of one large stone house and two stone stores and a stone barn, a good garden and orchard. Here Sir William first kept a trading-house and got his estate. He afterward removed further up the river, and four miles from the river, where he built an elegant seat, and lived in the latter part of his life in a very genteel style, and very hospitably, keeping a number of young Indian women about him in quality of concubines, and offering them in that respect to gentlemen who happened to lodge at his house. Many of his children and their descendants are now mixed with the other Indians, and are proud of reckoning their descent from him. The story of Hendrick's dream and Sir William's counter dream is generally believed to be true.*

This day we dined at a house (Putnam's) just opposite the mouth of Skoharie Creek, and, walking into the field as far as the brow of the hill, had a very fine view of the river, the creek, the church on Skoharie, and the site of Fort Hunter, which was built not far from one of the old Mohawk castles. Here was an Episcopal mission established in the reign of Queen Ann, and kept up till the beginning of the late revolution; a set of books and service of plate in the church.

P.M. Rode through a tract of land called Cagnawagha, part of the way on the intervale; passed a Dutch church; stopped at Conolly's, on the intervale, under a very steep, rocky hill, which is said to be a nest for rattlesnakes and hawks, and the people on the opposite side call it "Conolly's Rookery." This man came from the county of Down, in Ireland, and this plantation was given him by his brother.

* The Indian chief dreamed that Johnson would present him with a scarlet uniform similar to one the agent had just received from England. This Johnson did. But in due time he summoned the chief, and told him that he too had dreamed a dream, in which the Indian gave him a tract of land. Hendrick is reported to have made the gift, with the remark that the white man "dreamed too hard for the Indian." — *Eds.*

He has lived here about ten years. Passed by a projection of the rocky mountain, which is called "Anthony's Nose." * Here the road is very narrow between the rock and the river, and goes partly over a wharf built with timber. The water here is said to be very deep. The rock rises in an angle of forty-five degrees. In the side of this mountain is a cavern fourteen by twelve feet square. The stage stopped, and some of the company went up to it. It is said there is another deeper cavity, which they could not find. One of the finest springs runs out of this mountain, a little westward of the "Nose," affording plenty of water to the thirsty traveller. On the opposite side, the mountain approaches the river, and the road is equally narrow as on the north side.

The next tract is called Canajohara, from a creek which comes in on the south side, above the "Nose," and extends several miles. About five o'clock we crossed the river to the south, and rode under the mountain through a miry road, then on the intervale, then on the upland again, till we came to Ruff's, a dirty, noisy Dutch tavern, where we were obliged to lodge.

The lands through which we passed this day are all highly cultivated, and loaded with a luxuriant growth of wheat, rye, oats, and peas. Hops grow wild along the margin of the river and run over the bushes. There is a fruit called mandrake, very plenty in all this tract and above. It grows on a stalk from twelve to fifteen inches high, under a canopy of leaves. It has a fine smell, and some people are fond of it. Gooseberries and black currants are also very numerous. Some of the gooseberries are half ripe and have prickles on the fruit.

We were eleven in number in the stage this day, and very closely stowed, — four segars smoking great part of the time.

At Skenectada met with Hugh White, Esq., from whom Whites-town took its name, and had his company all this and the next day up to Whitestown. He removed from Middletown, in Connecticut, about ten or twelve years ago, bought a large tract of land, and is now a kind of patriarch, having seen the lands advance from a rude wilderness to a well-cultivated and productive country.

Vast quantities of limestone all along the Mohawk River. The stone lies in horizontal laminæ in the quarry, and is easily taken out in any shape or size. The churches and some of the houses are built with it.

Saturday, June 18. Set out early in a *lesser* carriage with the same number as yesterday, except one: very much crowded, but we accommodated each other as well as we could. Breakfasted at Hudson's, at the mouth of East Canada creek, — a good tavern, seated on the same ground where Hendrick lived, the Mohawk sachem who was killed in Johnson's battle, 1755, near Lake George.

* "'Anthony's Nose' seems to have been a favorite name with the former inhabitants of this State for mountains distinguished by bold precipices. There is a mountain of this name on the Hudson, forming the southern limit of the high lands on that river; two more on the Mohawk, and a fourth on this lake [George]." Dwight's "Travels," London ed. vol. iii. p. 340 n. — Eds.

It is a beautiful eminence, commanding a pleasant prospect, and here are many apple-trees of at least fifty years old, called Hendrick's orchard. We had some of the cider, and it was excellent. Here was a fort, built by British troops in 1756, called "Fort Hendrick," the rampart, ditch, and glacis of which are visible; and here was found, about four years ago, a golden medal, which it is supposed was the property of some Indian chief. It was worth about seven dollars; had an Indian on one side and emblematic figure on the other. It was sold at Albany to a Mr. Lansing. This place I take to have been the lower Mohawk castle, as marked on Holland's map of New York, though I believe that near Fort Hunter was called the lower castle seventy or eighty years ago.

Before noon we passed by a church and a village which I suppose to have been the upper Mohawk castle marked in said map. This was the residence of Joseph Brandt before the war. There are several graves round the church, enclosed with square cases of wood, like pig-styes. Abundance of apple-trees, and many of a large size. Passed over the Fall mountain, a very fine tract of upland. Dined at a good house, Aldridge's, near Fort Herkemer, on the edge of German Flats. Fort Herkemer was a stone house surrounded with ramparts of earth, which are still visible. General Herkemer was killed during the late war, going to the relief of Fort Stanwix when besieged, 1777.

German Flats have been settled by the high Dutch about seventy years. They have been three times broken up by war. The land is excellent, both on the meadows and hills; very extensive fields of wheat, rye, oats, flax, and peas, but all overrun with charlock, so that they look like fields of mustard, and, being now in bloom, are all yellow. The Germans are not so good husbandmen as the Yankees.

Soon after leaving German Flats the road leaves the river, which we crossed to the north on a bridge. Just on the upper part of the Flats is a church and court-house, in Herkemer County. The county through which we have hitherto passed is Montgomery; both named after general officers belonging to this State, who lost their lives in defence of their country. Passed through thick woods; bad road, but good land, — beech, maple, walnut, and oilnut growth. After sunset, crossed the river to the south on a bridge to old Fort Schuyler, in the lower part of Whites Town.

Here the public stage ends. The house being full of people, and very noisy (there having been a muster of light horse this P.M.), we hired a wagon and proceeded four miles by moonlight to Colonel White's tavern at Whites-borough, where we arrived at half-past ten, much fatigued.

Lord's Day, June 19. Attended public worship, and heard Mr. Dodd preach all day. I had a letter to Mr. Jonas Plat, who kindly invited me to put up at his house, where I now am.

Monday, June 20. Preparing to go on horseback to the Indian settlements. This morning Captain Thomas, of Plymouth, came to see me, on his way to the military lands, and informed me of the death

of Mr. Gorham, of Charlestown, two days after we left Boston.* In this place is a post-office and printing-office, several very good houses, a wide and level road; and, though it has been inhabited but about ten years, Whitestown contains six parishes, three regiments of militia, and one troop of light horse. The road runs northwest and southeast. This place is situated southeast from Lake Ontario. A northwest wind brings the vapors from that and Lake Erie, and is generally a sign of foul weather. The climate is milder here, both in winter and summer, than in the same parallel to the eastward, and vegetation is more forward in the spring. The great lakes never freeze, and the country about them is warmed by the vapor of them in the winter; so far from the truth is the notion that the great lakes are the cause of our intensely cold northwest winds.

I am now in a region greatly elevated above the level of the ocean. Within twelve miles south of this place is a ridge of hills, not very high, from the south side of which the streams run into the Susquehanna, and twelve miles northwest from hence the streams run into Lake Ontario. The waters here discharge into the Mohawk, which is one mile distant to the north. This region enjoys settled weather more than Albany,—evenings and mornings cool, though the middle of the day be hot.

Distances :—from Boston to Albany	180 miles.
to Skenectada	16 "
to Canajohara	40 "
to old Fort Schuyler	42 "
to Whitesborough	4 "
	<hr/>
	282 miles.
to Paris (Clinton settle')	7 "
to Mr. Kirkland's	1 "
to New Stockbridge	12 "
to Oneida village	6 "
	<hr/>
The extent of our journey	308 miles.
Rode in the stage, going and returning	564 "
Rode on horseback, going and returning	52 "
	<hr/>
	616 miles.†

The beginning of this present month, June 8, 1796, an event happened at Oneida which strongly marks the little progress made by

* Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, a prominent citizen, judge of the Common Pleas, and delegate to the Continental Congress, and to the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. With Oliver Phelps he bought, in 1788, a large tract of land in the Genesee country, known as "Phelps and Gorham's Purchase."—Eds.

† Of course part of this table of distances was added at a later day.—Eds.

civilization or Christianity among that people. Two young married squaws had a quarrel, which was taken up by their husbands, and a scuffle ensued. They parted for that time. They had some rum to drink. One, Cornelius, went and got a gun; came and challenged his antagonist, Jacob, who stood and dared him to fire. The other shot him dead on the spot. The father of the dead (Jacob) acquainted the nearest friend of the murderer with the fact, and told him that he must revenge the death of his son. They went to the hut where he lay covered with a blanket. The father of the dead fired his gun and wounded the murderer, then stabbed him and left him to die. The wounded man recovered in the night, and his friends prepared to defend him from further injury. The father of the dead, hearing this, took witnesses, and despatched the murderer in their presence with a tomahawk. This, it is supposed, will be a final settlement of the affair, it being according to the Indian custom.* The lawyers are divided on the question whether the laws of the State extend to quarrels between the Indians themselves. If an Indian hurts or kills a white man, he is punishable by the laws of the State; and if an Indian complains of an Indian to a white magistrate, the law takes cognizance; but in this case there is no complaint, and probably there will be no inquiry.

Murders of this kind are agreeable to the Indian principles, though of late they have been rarely practised among the Oneidas. Another instance is mentioned to this purpose: The famous Joseph Brandt (by birth a Mohawk, but now an officer in the British service, resident on Grand Rivière, which falls into Lake Erie on the north side) killed his own son last summer, 1795. The son was an unruly fellow and threatened to kill his father. The father, to prevent his own death, clave the head of his son into four parts with a dirk which he always carried about him. Having thus acted the Indian, he recollected his connection with the British, resigned his commission, and delivered up himself to justice. A message was sent to Lord Dorchester, who returned answer that Brandt should keep his commission, and not be prosecuted for the murder.† This account I had from Mr. Caulking,

* There are some corrections and interlineations made in this account, which perhaps represents the story as Dr. Belknap heard it at Whitestown. In a footnote to their report the committee give the particulars, which do not exactly agree with this account, taken from Mr. Sergeant's Journal, 1 Coll. vol. v. p. 18 n. A cutting from the "Mercury" of Sept. 20, 1796, is pasted into the end of Dr. Belknap's diary. From it we learn that another murder occurred in Oneida on August 17, the victim being a white man, supposed to be named Henry Grafts, from Long Island, on his way to the military lands. Judge White issued a warrant for the murderer, Saucy Nick, and the chiefs surrendered him. To the account Dr. Belknap writes these notes: "Nick demanded money of the man, which he refused giving him, this was the provocation"; and "It is said that some of the Indians have threatened that if this murderer should be put to death by the justice of the State, they will kill the first white man that shall come into their village. It is high time that these Indians should be made subject to the laws of the State; this must be done if they are to be considered as citizens; if they will still be savages they must retire deeper into the forest." — Eds.

† Compare Stone's "Life of Joseph Brant," vol. ii. pp. 466, 468. — Eds.

at Mr. Plat's, June 20. He also gave the same account of the murder at Oneida which I had before heard from Mr. Plat. It is said that Brandt has not since worn his dirk, and that he appears very grave and sober. This Brandt was one of Dr. Wheelock's scholars; can assume the Indian or English manners, as best suits his convenience, and keep up his influence with both.

Account of the death of General Herkemer, 1777. From Mr. Plat.

When St. Leger was besieging Fort Stanwix, a message was sent from the fort to inform Herkemer of their dangerous situation. He was an honest, resolute, ignorant German, at German Flats. He gathered the militia on the river, and marched with them to the relief of the garrison in a careless manner, without guards or scouts, till he came within six miles. A party of the enemy had discovered his march, watched him, and laid an ambush into which he fell. The enemy suffered them to pass till the van was enclosed; then they fired. The rear, who were low Dutch from Schenectada, &c., immediately retreated. The van and front kept up an irregular fire. Herkemer was wounded in the leg, but, being placed on a stump, gave his orders as well as he could. A thunder-shower interrupted the battle, and every man lay on his arms to keep them dry; being then very near each other. After the shower they resumed the contest; the militia with bayonets and the Indians with knives. When night approached, both quitted the ground. Herkemer was carried home, lived three days, and died in his own house.

An Indian who had been sent by the besiegers as a spy was taken by our people and carried to General Arnold, who commanded at Schenectada or Albany. He was promised his life and a large reward if he would return to the fort and tell the besiegers that Arnold was coming with a large force to raise the siege. He performed his errand with fidelity, and the British decamped. The fellow has received no reward, but is now making attempts to petition the State of New York for the performance of Arnold's promise. His name is . . . * His character worthless, but has a family.

This afternoon I received a letter from Mr. George W. Kirkland, informing that his father was very ill, and that he would be here to-morrow morning to escort us to Paris.

N.B. During Herkemer's battle, Starring, a German officer, lost his pipe out of his button-hole as he was crawling over a log. As soon as he missed it he went back through a shower of bullets and searched till he found it. This man is now first judge of Herkemer County. The story was told me by Judge White, who had it from his own mouth.

* Dr. Belknap did not fill the space he had left for the name. This story is told of one Hanyost Schuyler, who was, however, a white man, but one well acquainted with Indians. He is said, too, to have had an Indian comrade in the adventure. See Dwight's "Travels," vol. iii. pp. 183-186, and Benton's "History of Herkimer County," pp. 82, 83. — EDS.

Tuesday, June 21. Having with some difficulty procured horses at Whites Town, we waited till after nine in the morning for Mr. G. W. K., but he not having arrived we set off before ten on horseback for Paris, distant seven miles. On the road met him, and he carried us to his house and gave us a very good dinner. Captain Thomas and Mr. Dana, who are on their way to the military towns [lands?], came in afterward and dined with us. Mr. Norton, minister of Paris, and Mr. Deane, for whom we sent to Westmoreland, also came after dinner.* The weather very hot. Toward evening a thunder-shower in the east; some drops here.

P.M. Visited Rev. Mr. Kirkland. Found him very weak, both in body and mind. His disorder is an ulcerated jaw, which causes a constant discharge into his throat and stomach, and produces nausea and frequent faintings. His pain has been extreme, and extends up to his eye on the right side. He has taken many anodynes, which have weakened his nerves. We were very kindly entertained at his house. He has a large, handsome new house, nearly finished, into which he proposes to move in a few days; thirty acres of wheat growing, besides corn and grass; and thirty head of cattle. Hamilton Academy is nothing more than a frame, partly covered. The work has ceased and no school is kept. The trustees are to hold a meeting in a few days.

At Whites Town, this morning, we met with a Quaker from Philadelphia, who with two others are deputed by the Society of Friends to reside among the Oneida Indians, to teach them arts and agriculture, and endeavor to bring them into a state of civil and religious society. They have made them one visit, and are going thither again. Mr. Deane returned home, four miles, in the evening, promising to meet us again to-morrow morning, and go with us to Stockbridge to visit Rev. Mr. Sergeant.

Lodged at Umpstead's tavern. Here is a large meeting-house framing, and will probably be raised in about three weeks. The country here has rapidly populated within eleven years past, when there were but two families in Whites Town.

* The Rev. Mr. Norton was one of the persons who gave written answers to the queries brought out by the committee. He had been recommended as a suitable person to be asked. Mr. Dean was another, and the replies of both gentlemen are preserved among the Belknap manuscripts. The following are the terms in which Mr. Dean is recommended in a paper marked "J. T. Kirkland's observations": "Mr. James Deane, who lives at Westmoreland, four miles this side of Oneida, is a man of education, sense, and independent way of thinking; has spent many years among the Indians; is personally acquainted with the principal Oneidas. He will probably give information with freedom. In estimating his opinions, some allowance must be made for the influence of that *disgust* which he appears to have taken against the aborigines. If Mr. Deane will be interpreter, he will be accurate and faithful, or, if he cannot act himself, he will tell of a good one." Mr. Dean did serve as interpreter. He was a graduate of Dartmouth in the class of 1773. There is a notice of him in Chapman's "Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College"; and a more extended one in Tracy's "Men and Events connected with the Early History of Oneida County." See also Pomroy Jones's "Annals of Oneida County," pp. 744-759.—EDS.

Wednesday, June 22. Visited Rev. Mr. Kirkland again. Found him faint and weak, but rather better than yesterday P.M. He gave us some information relative to the state of his mission. Took some refreshment, and waited until after eleven A.M. before all preparations could be made for our going to New Stockbridge and Oneida. Rode through twelve miles of woods; very fine land, but excessively bad road. In this route the first runs of water fall into the Mohawk; the latter into the Oneida Lake, and so into Ontario. The growth was sugar-maple, beech, elm, walnut, and oilnut, — the trees very tall and straight; in the latter part much eaten by caterpillars. When this is the case with the maple, no sugar can be made from it the next season. Last season very little, because the caterpillars devoured them last summer. This has not been known since the English settled here, but the Indians remember it before. A great body of plaster has been discovered in the Onondago country about two years ago. (Mr. Norton doubts of this discovery.*) From a hill at old Oneida saw at a distance the Oneida Lake. About three P.M. came to two or three Indian huts, where some Oneidas live. Saw an Indian cradle, mortar and pestles, &c. Good orchard and a cider press. At this place the murder was committed, June 8. On our descent to Oneida Creek we met Captain Hendrick Aupaumut driving his ox-team. Invited him to meet us at Mr. Sergeant's this P.M. with his friends. Got to Mr. S.'s at half-past four.

The village of New Stockbridge is about three miles in length on the southwest side of the upper part of Oneida Creek. The fences are in good order, and the corn and grass look well. The Indians, about three hundred in number, have a meeting-house in which a school is kept, partly at the expense of the United States and partly of the Corporation of Harvard College. Mr. John Sergeant is here established as missionary, and supported partly by Scots Society, partly by Corporation of Harvard College, and partly by Society in Massachusetts for Propagating the Gospel. There is a saw-mill erected here last fall by the United States, and some work has been done; but the dam is broken by the freshet. Toward evening had a conference with Captain Hendrick and nine other Indians, when we received their compliments and a belt, and opened to them our business. They promised to meet us again to-morrow morning as early as possible. In the woods near this place deer are to be seen in considerable numbers. Pike and trout in the creek. Pigeons are flying over us every day since we came into this region at Whites Town. Lodged this night at Mr. Sergeant's house.

Thursday, June 23. After breakfast we met the chiefs again in the meeting-house. About thirty men and as many women were present. Some of the women brought their children in Indian cradles. We intended at this meeting to have delivered a sermon; but it was thought best to postpone it till our return from Oneida. The chiefs promised to consider our queries and assist Mr. Sergeant in answering

* These words are a later addition. — Eds.

them. They sang two or three tunes very well. Previously to this conference, and apprehending further delay in the business, I had taken Mr. Sergeant by himself, and obtained from him such answers to our queries as he was able to give, which I minuted down from his mouth.* Had I not taken this method, we might have been detained here a week, for we find the Indians very fond of procrastination, and the ministers very fond of humoring them.†

After dinner, which we took pretty early, set off for Oneida, six miles, through very bad road. We forded the creek several times; passed by the Tuscarora village; viewed a house which our interpreter, Mr. Dean, said was a complete specimen of Indian architecture. It was made of two rows, each consisting of five posts set in the ground, which supported the roof. The beams were fastened by withes to the posts, and the rafters lay on the beams, projecting downward to stakes fastened in the ground, which formed the side of the building, and there fastened with withes. The roof was covered with bark. At each end of the house was a separate apartment; one of which served as an entry, the other as a store-room. In the store-room was a vessel as big as a barrel, and in that shape, made of bark; also another in the form of a bread trough. There was also a mortar and two wooden pestles. In the entry was a pig's trough, and a few other things of little worth. Their corn is hung on poles inside. There were four bunks, or raised platforms, on which they sleep; and two places in the middle where they make the fire, over which were two holes in the roof for the smoke to go out.

We passed by a small village where lives an old man named Silver-smith, aged about eighty. At his door stood the famous stone which gives the nation the name of Oneida, or Oniuda, *the upright stone*. It is about three and a half feet high, irregularly round, in some parts of a white and in others of a gray color. This stone is said by their tradition to *follow* the nation in their removals; but it is impossible it should follow them without being *carried*, and it requires a very strong man to carry it; for it weighs more than a hundred-weight. They used to set up this stone in the crotch of a tree, and then they supposed themselves invincible. John Whitestripes, who speaks good English, told me that there was a young man in the neighborhood who could carry the stone about forty rods at one lift.

We also passed by the shop of an Indian carpenter, and met him in the road with a saw and other tools in his hand. He is a tall, well-shaped young man, and looked very pleasant and good-humored. We arrived at the Oneida Castle — so called, though there is no appearance of a fortification — about three P.M., and went into the house of John Skanandogh, an old chief aged seventy-six.‡ His house is built in the English, or rather the Dutch style, and warmed in winter by a

* Mr. Sergeant's answers are preserved among Dr. Belknap's papers.—Eds.

† This last clause in ink of a different color. — Eds.

‡ In the printed report this chief is described as one of the best of the nation, although he had little influence. — Eds.

fire made on one side like the Dutch houses, with an open space all round, and a kind of funnel above to let out the smoke.

The chiefs had notice of our coming, and began to assemble in their meeting-house, which is built of logs and covered with bark. About four o'clock they blew the horn as a signal, and we met them. They were not quite so formal as the chiefs at New Stockbridge, and were willing to enter on business immediately. We held a conference of two hours, and had several examinations, which we minuted in writing. A tin kettle of water and a small tin cup served us for refreshment during the conference.*

This village is situate on a high plain; and Skanandogh's house, on the south edge of it, commands an extensive and grand view all round. Were the country in a state of cultivation, nothing could be more charming than such a prospect; but it is melancholy to see so fine a tract of land in such a savage state. There are in this village a considerable number of huts, most of which are of logs, some few framed, and several of them have covered stoops or piazzas in the Dutch style. In the late war their village was destroyed by the Indians and Tories in the British interest. They had a decent church with a bell, which was built by charitable donations. This was destroyed. The whole nation removed down the Mohawk River, and encamped on the plain of Schenectady above the town, where they lived several years, and were supported by the United States. After their return to their own country, they rebuilt their houses chiefly after the manner of the Dutch, and carried home some of their customs.

Flights of pigeons all the r.m., and, indeed, every day since we have been in the county of Herkemer we have seen them. The Indians might easily take them with nets, but they do not; and I heard but one gun fired at them. This is the season for catching salmon in

* The minutes of this conference are preserved in Dr. Belknap's memorandum book. The committee endeavored to find out whether the complaint against Mr. Kirkland sent to Boston was the act of the nation or only of individuals, whether it was instigated by Mr. Sergeant, and whether there were any who objected to sending it. The complaint appears to have received the official signatures of the heads of the three tribes of the nation, — the Wolf, the Bear, and the Turtle. Mr. Sergeant was consulted, although perhaps he did no more than tell the chiefs the proper way of forwarding complaints; and there had not been complete unanimity among the people about the matter. Mr. Kirkland was charged also with encouraging taverns in the country. The next day Drs. Belknap and Morse called on the offending tavern-keeper, and were told that, as he lived on a public road, both Mr. Kirkland and Esquire Foot advised him to keep some refreshment for travellers, but expressly forbade him to sell liquor to the Indians. The chiefs wished to introduce a new complaint; but the committee refused to entertain it, on the ground that Mr. Kirkland was not able to attend in person, and his son, who represented him, was not instructed on points not included in the former complaint.

The next day, at New Stockbridge, Dr. Belknap had some talk with the wife of Anthony (one of the chiefs), who was a sensible woman and often consulted. He has minuted down their conversation. She thought that the women generally agreed with the men in the wish to have another missionary than Mr. Kirkland, but that their great wish was to have the religious services maintained; and she expected that the differences could be settled. — Eds.

the creeks of the Oneida Lake ; and many of the Indians were absent on this business, and will not return till it is over. Some time ago an Indian was drowned in one of these creeks. General Schuyler, who was then at Fort Stanwix, asked an Indian to catch him a salmon. The Indian said, "No salmon would come into the creek, because a man was drowned." The General, who understood how to oppose one superstition by another, replied, "I have put something into the water to cure it." On which the Indian went a fishing, and soon brought in three fine salmon. Lodged this night at old Skanandogh's on a mattress. Had a supper of tea, milk, Indian cake, fried eggs, and strawberries. The Indian cake is made by soaking the corn in ley, which takes off the hull ; then it is pounded in a mortar ; then mixed up with water into the form of a biscuit, and boiled till it becomes of the consistence of a dumpling.

Friday, June 24. Early this morning we set out on our return to New Stockbridge. On the way observed several of the Oneida *ladies* preparing to go out into the fields with their hoes to work in the cool of the morning whilst their husbands smoke their pipes at home. On the road we met four or five women, with each a bag of corn on her back, which they had been to Stockbridge to buy. The bag was hung by a strap round their forehead. When a man and a woman go together to buy corn, the woman carries the load ; and, if they have a horse, the man rides it with a bag under him, but the woman goes on foot with her load on her shoulders. The women are strong and patient and very laborious. Some few of the men, however, do work in the field, and the women work with them. It is to be observed that, in the Indian husbandry, the huts are placed in the centre of an inclosure, which is greater or less according to the number of the inhabitants. This inclosure is a common pasture, in which all their horses, cows, and swine feed together. Beyond the fence is the planting ground, and there is no fence between that and the woods. Some exceptions, however, there are to this general rule. The Indians of New Stockbridge make their fences, and separate their fields from their pastures in the English mode.

As we passed by the house of old Silversmith we called to see him. He is the head of the Pagan interest in the Oneida nation, which consists of about eight or ten families. We again viewed the *Oneida stone* ; and our interpreter, by our desire, entered into conversation with the old man respecting his religious principles. He informed us that the objects of his devotion were the rocks and mountains, which he believed were animated by some invisible Power, which had a superintendency over human affairs.*

To this invisible Power he addressed his devotions, and depended on it for success in hunting and in war. This had been his religion from his youth, and he had never failed of receiving answers to his prayers. He had always either killed his enemy or made him captive,

* "Lo, the poor Indian ! whose untutored mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind." — *Dr. Belknap's note.*

and had generally good luck in hunting. Others, he said, paid the same devotion to the wind and to the thunder, believing them to be invisible powers, and put the same trust in them as he did in the rocks and mountains; and he regarded the Oneida stone as an image of the deity which he worshipped.

On our way we called to see Peter, the son of "good Peter," a Christian Indian who died about three or four years ago, and a nephew of Silversmith, by whom he was educated in the principles of Paganism. The children all belong to the mother, and are accounted of her tribe or clan. When the mother dies the children are taken by her nearest relations, and the father has no care of their education. This accounts for *good* Peter having so *bad* a son; for, as the mother died before the father, the uncle took young Peter under his care, and made a heathen of him. Peter the second has the most savage, ferocious countenance that I have seen among them. He has committed several murders, one about two years ago. He killed a young man of the Onondago nation, and the Onondagos killed one of the Oneidas in return. He has also killed two persons supposed witches. This is regarded as an act of public justice. Peter thanked us for calling to see him, and for the respect we showed to the memory of his father, which he supposed was the motive of our visit.

John Matoxon, who went on foot by the side of our horses, told me that he could walk fifty miles in a day. He is a tall, stout fellow, and I believe capable of doing what he said. He is twenty-five years of age; has some hairs on his chin, but has pulled out many, and says he intends to eradicate the rest; but the pain is so great that he cannot bear to pull out more than three or four at a time. They use a pair of iron pincers for this operation, and no blood follows the hair when extracted.

Arrived at Mr. Sergeant's about nine o'clock, and after breakfast attended divine service in the meeting-house. There were present, as far as I could judge, about one hundred and fifty persons, nearly an equal number of each sex, who ranged themselves on opposite sides of the house. Many of the women brought their children tied up in their cradles, which are very convenient to be carried, to be set down, or hung up, at pleasure. Dr. Morse preached, and I prayed. Captain Hendrick, the chief sachem, interpreted the discourse by sentences. It lasted an hour and twenty-five minutes. This mode of preaching by an interpreter is very tedious and clumsy. It may do once in a while for a stranger; but a missionary ought certainly to understand the language of his hearers. Mr. S. was brought up among the Stockbridge Indians, and is well acquainted with their tongue. The name of the tribe is Mohukenuh.*

* Dr. Belknap's memorandum book gives us the *new* names applied to Mr. Sergeant's daughters as a compliment on the occasion of a visit to New England: Abigail, Menoonsquoh, a *virtuous woman*; and Betsy, Necknesquoh, a *flourishing girl*. And for a specimen of the Oneida tongue we have the names of Mr. Kirkland's children: John T., Logwoncarst, a *lover of every one*; George W., Kâhondawiska, a *field in bloom*; Samuel, Kâlaneo, a *musical voice*; Eliza, Kowathalâna, *speaking to every one*; and Ralph, Istaneal, *steel*. Quisquisahoontâ was a *hog's ear*; Kitkit, a *hen*; and Scarlet, *rum*. — Eds.

After sermon we had another conference with the chiefs, and received answers to some of our questions which had not before been answered. They also gave us a copy of their town covenant or constitution, and of the act of the New York legislature relative to them.

A Brotherton Indian delivered me a letter from David Fowler and two others who style themselves "peacemakers," — a kind of selectmen in Brotherton. The letter invited us to go thither and give them an answer to a petition which they had before sent to the commissioners requesting a missionary to be sent among them. We wrote an answer informing them that their petition had not been sent to Boston, but that we had met it on the road, and should carry it; that it would be sent to Scotland, and it would probably be a year before they could have an answer.*

There is one woman named Esther in this place who last year wove sixteen yards of woollen cloth for shirts, and expects this year to make double the number. This is a singular instance of industry, and deserves encouragement. She is a widow of forty years old, has seven children and an infirm sister to maintain.

Here we had an interview with the committee of Quakers from Pennsylvania, who gave us a copy of their commission. They have taken up their quarters for the present in Captain Hendrick's house.

We inquired for John Kunkapot, who was at Boston three years ago begging books to keep school. Were informed that he pawned the books on his way home, for liquor; and that he went last winter to Philadelphia, and has not been heard of since. We saw him at Albany on our return. He is begging all over the country. A worthless fellow!

About three P.M. set out on our return to Paris, the weather very hot; but when we got into the woods the shade was very agreeable. On our way picked several flowers and got specimens of some vegetables not in flower, which I put into a pamphlet to save for Mr. Peck. Found the ginseng and maidenhair in great plenty in the Oneida woods; also a substance much resembling hops, growing on trees.† Met with the prickly ash, not in flower, and passed by many others which our time and circumstances would not allow us to take. About seven got to Mr. Kirkland's house, and found him still very sick and his family greatly fatigued with their attendance on him. Lodged this night at the house of his son, George W. Kirkland, who had accompanied us in our tour among the Indians.

Saturday, June 25. Excessively hot. Visited Mr. Kirkland again in the morning, and returned to his son's to dine, where we stayed till four P.M., when Dr. Morse went to Whites-borough, and I concluded to keep Sabbath here.‡ In the evening much lightning and thunder

* Brotherton was occupied by the Indians brought from Connecticut by Samson Occum, the well-known Indian preacher, who died there in 1792. President Dwight visited the settlement in 1799. See "Travels," vol. iii. pp. 168-174. — Eds.

† I have since learned that this tree is called the hop hornbeam. — *Dr. Belknap's note.*

‡ This was written at Paris. — Eds.

in the south and southeast. A thunder-shower in the night; rained very hard.

Evening came in two gentlemen from Genesee country. They say that Jo. Brandt, with a party of his Indians, have met the surveyors who are out beyond the Genesee, and forbade them to proceed. This is supposed to be a manœuvre to procure a thousand or more dollars from those who claim the lands. They made Jo a *present* of a few trifles before they went out; but he requires a larger *fee* to extinguish his claim. These gentlemen confirmed the story of Brandt's having killed his own son last summer, and say they had it from his own mouth. The Genesee country is not healthy. The flats are extensive, and the water very foul, which breeds noxious vapors. The people are subject to a putrid fever which goes by the name of the Genesee fever.

The salt springs of Onondago are wrought to great advantage, and the people in this region are supplied with it. They boil the water in large kettles, and can afford the salt for five shillings York money per bushel. It is very fine, and not so bitter as sea salt. The fresh water thereabouts is not good, and the people are sickly in the heat of summer. These springs are public property. To the westward of Onondago are other salt springs, and there is one small lake whose water is brackish; a crust of salt is said to be seen on its surface early in the morning, but dissolves when the sun shines. This part of the story I doubt.*

In the township of Pompey are found petrifications of sea shells, a specimen of which was given me by Rev. Mr. Norton, of Paris, which I shall present to the Historical Society.†

At parting with Mr. Deane, our interpreter, I proposed a correspondence with him, which he with some hesitation accepted. He is a sensible, intelligent man, one of Dr. Wheelock's scholars, and well acquainted with Indians.

The region where I am at present is very elevated. The streams run northerly into the Mohawk. Between Mr. Kirkland's and his son's is the Oriskany Creek, which Mr. Deane says is a corrupt pronunciation of *Oi hiskà*, signifying "a place of nettles." The nettles were very plentiful and large on its banks. This is a sign of good land. This place is called Clinton settlement, within the town of Paris and within the extensive district of Whites Town. It has been settled eleven years, and Esquire Foot was the first who came here. He is from Connecticut. It is a central situation, and a good place for trade.

Lord's Day, June 26. A fine, cool, westerly wind in consequence of the thunder last night. Breakfasted on salmon taken in the Oneida Creek, — very fine. The Indians have the exclusive right of

* If anything swims it must be an *oily* substance. — Dr. Belknap's note.

† Dr. Belknap presented these petrifications, in Mr. Norton's name, to the Society at the July meeting after his return home; and in January, 1797, Mr. Norton was elected a Corresponding Member, having been nominated by Dr. Morse at the November meeting previous. — Eds.

this fishery, which they reserved in the sale of their lands to the State of New York. Preached all day for Mr. Norton, and toward evening returned to Mr. Plat's at Whitestown.

Monday, June 27. We had some expectation of going to Fort Stanwix, twelve miles distant to the northwest, and thence going down the Mohawk with General Schuyler, in his covered boat, to Schenectada. We this day received a letter from the General, informing us that his boat was gone down to fetch the engineer and his family, that he should be glad to see us at Fort Stanwix and bring us down by water to old Fort Schuyler, where he should stay four or five days, and that he would send us down by the first boat that he could detain. Considering that we should be delayed perhaps a whole week here, and considering also that this is a fever-and-ague country, that the disorder has begun rather earlier than usual, that Mr. Plat's wife (where I lodge) has it, and that General Schuyler himself is not free from it, — as we heard by Mr. Fish, of New Jersey, who saw him this morning, — we concluded it was best for us to go down by the stage, as we came up. After dining with Mr. Breeze, and waiting for the stage till six o'clock, we set off and came down this P.M. to old Fort Schuyler, and lodged at Mr. House's inn.

Tuesday, June 28. Rose at four. Waited till a quarter past five for the stage and company, then set off toward home. Three miles from old Fort Schuyler we met the first detachment of the troops destined for Oswego. They appeared to be about sixty or seventy in number, in a uniform of blue and red. A wagon followed containing their tents and baggage. After riding a few miles we met a boy on horseback, who inquired of us where we met the troops. We answered him, but knew not the reason of his asking till we got to Aldridge's. The driver knew him to be Aldridge's boy. This morning cloudy and rainy. In a shower we met two Dutch girls walking barefoot, and carrying their shoes in their hands, — an eminent instance of Dutch economy.

After fasting six hours and riding seventeen miles through very bad road, at ten A.M. we got some very welcome breakfast at Aldridge's (German Flats). Here we found the boats containing the baggage, ammunition, and stores of the troops, with the commanding officer, Captain Bruff, and the agent or purveyor, Judge Glen. The preceding afternoon they had had a quarrel with the Dutch boatmen who navigated the batteaux in which were the stores. They would have their own way to go or stop when and where they pleased, and it is as hard to turn a Dutchman as a mule out of his way. The captain could not speak their language; but he wanted the boats to be paraded *en militaire*, and guarded by night. (N. B. They had been six days on the water from Schenectada.) This bred a quarrel. The Captain fired his piece at them, and they came at him with the poles with which they set the boats against the stream. A conflict might have ensued had not the Captain's wife and daughter by their cries and entreaties prevailed. The arrival of the purveyor, soon after, — who, being a Dutchman, could speak to them in their own tongue,

—helped to pacify the boatmen. But, to be sure of a superiority, the Captain had despatched Aldridge's boy (whom we met) to call back part of the troops, who had at least seventeen miles to travel in a retrograde progression to come to the assistance of their commander. Both he and the Judge appeared to be in great agitation, full of words, and not destitute of profaneness.

Dined this day at Indian Castle, and got some more of Hendrick's cider, which is excellent. Lodged at Dwight's, a mile below the house where the stage puts up. N. B. Dwight told me that the root called wake-robin is an effectual cure for the poison of bushes and plants which usually affect the skin. It is bruised with milk, and applied externally. In the night a heavy thunder-shower. The meadow was full of fire-flies, and, the extent being great and the house high above it, I had a singular amusement the preceding evening in viewing the incessant glimmering of ten thousand of these insects, with now and then a flash of lightning to assist the illumination.

Wednesday, June 29. Dr. Morse not well. Rode six miles to Conolly's, and there breakfasted; but he ate nothing. Rode eleven miles more, and he was so ill that we stopped at Putnam's,—a clean Dutch house opposite Schoharie Creek and Fort Hunter,—and let the stage go on, the driver promising to return to-morrow on purpose to fetch us, if he should be able to proceed. Employed a Dr. Sanford as physician to Dr. Morse, and the good man and woman of the house nursed him as tenderly as if he had been their own child. His disorder was cholera morbus. He was very ill all day and evening. At night got some rest by the help of anodyne, and in the morning was better.

All the P.M. and A.M. of next day, Thursday, June 30, employed myself in reading Wheelock's narratives, which I carried in my trunk; and observing the warm, enthusiastic manner in which the business of converting Indians has been conducted, and the changes which appeared in the conduct of the persons concerned when the ardor abated. *Tempora mutantur, &c.* About twelve o'clock the extra stage came; and, Dr. M. being somewhat recovered, we set out for Schenectada, twenty-one miles.

Stopped by the way at Miles's (formerly Guy Johnson's house); there met a Dr. Sweet, who fell into conversation, and offered to conduct us to the *painted rock*, which he said was about two miles down the river. Took him up in the carriage and rode with him two miles. Then he and I left the carriage to search for the rock. This ramble took up forty minutes, and I walked about two miles, partly through woods and partly through fields. The rock is on the north bank of the Mohawk, fifteen miles above Schenectada. It is a perpendicular ledge of limestone, with a pretty smooth surface and about twenty feet high. On the upper part—which is easily accessible, the laminæ projecting in various places—appear the remains of some red paint, which has been in the same situation for eighteen or twenty years. Imagination may conceive the paint to resemble almost any

thing; but judgment cannot decide without the help of testimony. The tradition is that it was painted by the Indians in memory of some canoes of Indians who went thence to war, and never returned; that the painting represented canoes and men in them; and that this painting is frequently *renewed* to preserve the memory of the event. Some add that the renewal is performed in the night, or by some *invisible* hand. The fact is that there is a rock with some appearance of red paint, that the paint has been in some measure defended from the weather by a projection of the rock *over* it, and that the place is easily accessible by similar projections *under* it. This is all that can be said with any certainty. As to the frequent renewal of the paint, &c., I was assured by Dr. Sweet that he had known it to be in the same condition as we saw it for eighteen years past; and a man whom we took as a pilot, who appeared to be about twenty-five years old, said it always looked just so since his remembrance.

We had a pleasant ride to Schenectada, and got there just at sunset. This village is not a very *sightly* place either from a distance or when you are in it. The principal business is boat-building, for which there is a great call by reason of the continual increase of transportation on the Mohawk River for one hundred miles. Evening visited Mr. Duane. Lodged at Plat's.

Friday, July 1. Breakfasted with Rev. Dr. John Smith, president of the college here. It has a fund of fourteen thousand pounds, York currency; contains forty students. Part of the fund is to be applied toward the erection of a public building for college exercises, library, apparatus, &c.; but the scholars are not to live in barracks nor eat in commons. The classes are distinguished by different-colored ribbons worn over their shoulders in the form of sashes.* The name of the institution is Union College. It began last fall. By the report of the regents, March, 1797, the property of this college is stated to be \$42,422.60, and 1,604 acres of land.† After breakfast rode sixteen miles to Albany, the wind driving the dust before us, so that we were fairly involved in a cloud the whole way. Stopped at McKean's, five miles from Albany, where we saw the spring-head of the projected aqueduct for the city. The water is very pure and cool, and there seems to be a good supply.

By reason of our detention at Johnstown, my stay in Albany will be so short that I shall not have time to visit every part. The old Dutch church is an object of curiosity without. Its appearance is more like a powder magazine than a place of worship. It is of stone, with a monstrous, high, pitched roof, in a pyramidal form, with a little cupola and bell.‡ It is eighty years old, and was built over an older church in which divine service was performed all the time that the

* The distinction between the classes was marked in their dress in other American colleges. See "College Words and Customs," s. r. Dress. — Eds.

† It will be readily understood that this sentence was added to the diary at a later day than the original entry. — Eds.

‡ There is a picture of this church in Munsell's "Collections on the History of Albany," vol. ii. p. 25. — Eds.

present one was building, so that they omitted but one Sunday. This is the tradition, and I was assured of the truth of it by Lieutenant-Governor Rensselaer, with whom I dined this day. There is nothing elegant in any of the public buildings of this city. The jail is, I think, the most sightly of them and the newest. Some of the streets are very narrow; but the new ones, particularly Watervliet, is wide and well paved. State Street is also wide; the old Dutch church is at the lower end, and the English church at the upper end. There is also a Presbyterian meeting-house; but the clergyman, McDonald, is silenced, . . . and has set up a bookstore. This man had a great share of influence whilst his wickedness was unknown; but he is now treated with as much disrespect as he deserves. It was he who wrote the letters to Scotland which were the occasion of our mission into these parts.* There is also a Methodist church, a German Calvinist, and a German Lutheran, — six in all.

The old fur-traders in this city look very pleasant this day, on the occasion of the arrival of about twenty wagons loaded with furs from the northward. A renewal of this gainful business is anticipated; and this is one effect of peace and friendship with Great Britain, notwithstanding all the clamor that has been raised about the treaty.

The mayor of this city, Abraham Yates, died yesterday, and is to be buried to-morrow, but I cannot stay to see the funeral. It is said the whole city is invited to attend, and here none go to a funeral but those who are invited. The bell rings as ours do for fire. To a wedding everybody goes without invitation, and the married couple keep open doors for two or three days. The boys assemble round the door and expect cookies, *i. e.*, cakes, to be thrown out to them.

At Albany I parted with my companion, Dr. Morse, he intending to go down the river to New York next week. Lodged this night at Mr. Elkanah Watson's. Was much amused with the sound of cow-bells; all the cows of the city passing by his house on their return from pasture. At Skenectada the cows parade in the streets by night, and make dirty work before the doors. The whole town is a perfect cow-yard.

Saturday, July 2. Crossed the ferry in the stage at seven A.M. Rode through Greenbush, Schodac, and Stephen Town to Lebanon. At the springs observed a green bower erecting, and tables preparing to celebrate the festival of Independence on Monday next. They have also an iron four-pounder, which is mounted for the occasion.

About six o'clock P.M. I re-entered the State of Massachusetts, ascending from Lebanon Springs up a very long and steep mountain, which required one whole hour to gain the summit. This is Hancock

* Mr. McDonald removed to Canada, and after some years' residence there was restored to the ministry by the Presbytery of Montreal. He returned to Albany, and was active in gathering the United Presbyterian Church, of which he became the first pastor. He resigned in 1819, and died soon afterward. See Munsell's "Collections," vol. i. pp. 419-425. Dr. Belknap elsewhere speaks of him as "a bitter enemy to New England men, and especially to New England preachers." — Eds.

Mountain, so called from the township in which it lies. There is a grand view from the top, but, it being about sunset when we came to it, and rather cloudy, we did not much enjoy it.

Entering Pittsfield, saw old Hoosuck to the north. Arrived before dark at Mr. Allen's, where I propose to keep Sabbath, and hope to get home Wednesday next.

Lord's Day, July 3. Preached at Pittsfield for Mr. Allen. It being communion day, three women were added to the church, two of whom were then baptized. After service, at noon, a child was buried. The corpse had stood in the porch of the meeting-house all the time of service, and every one of the congregation looked at the corpse before the coffin was closed. After service in P.M. visited John Chandler Williams's and Mr. Van Scaik. The day was cloudy, and some small showers. Toward night observed old Hoosuck with his night-cap on, which denotes foul weather.

Monday, July 4. This day being the festival of Independence, the inhabitants of Pittsfield and the neighboring towns are to meet at Richmond. This is out of the stage road. Cloudy, misty, and wet morning. As we rose Partridgefield mountain we got above the mist into clear sunshine, and the weather became very hot. Dined at Meach's, in Worthington, but could get no better liquor than cider to drink the President's health. When we came to Northampton at evening, found that not a bell had been rung, nor a gun fired, nor a bowl of punch drank in that *very Federal town*, to celebrate the day. Dr. Hunt told me that his kinsman, the late John Hunt, minister of Old South, who died in the year 1775, is without the honor of a stone "to tell where he lies." His father expected that the Old South Church would erect a monument to his memory, and therefore did not erect one himself. Several members of the church had been spoken to at various times on the subject, but nothing has been done. His father is now dead and the family is scattered. The expense of erecting a stone of marble in that place would not exceed forty dollars. Perhaps this is not known to the sisterhood,—who were very fond of Mr. Hunt, and he was a very worthy, sensible, modest man.*

Tuesday, July 5. Crossed Connecticut River, at five o'clock, in a very thick fog; could not see the opposite shore till within a boat's length. At Belchertown saw two brass field-pieces, which had been *warmed* yesterday with the joy of the day. At the tavern saw the remains of what had been done; but none killed or wounded by *Mars*, whatever had been done by *Bacchus*. The day was kept at Worcester with great devotion to the jolly god. Lodged at Worcester this night, very much fatigued with heat and dust and jolting fifty-two miles.

N.B. At Belchertown observed in the house of Captain Warner an aqueduct which brought water from three quarters of a mile distance into every part of his house, particularly into the kitchen and bar-room; and an overshot wheel was carried round by it which turned

* John Hunt's grave at Northampton was afterward marked by a marble monument, built by the Old South Church. See Wisner's "History of the Old South Church," p. 107, n. 46. — Eds.

the spit. These aqueducts are very common along the road, and show great ingenuity, as well as a spirit of enterprise in our citizens. . . .

Wednesday, July 6. At three this morning set off in the stage from Worcester for Boston. At Sudbury bridge saw a company of people collected to rescue a boy of seven years old from the water. As we came to the bridge the child had just been taken out, after lying, as is supposed, half an hour under water in a deep hole of the river. He had been in to wash himself. The people had got him in a blanket on the ground, with his face downward, and had sent for a barrel on which to roll him, and a quantity of salt to rub him. I came to the spot just in time to prevent his being rolled and salted, and got him into a house, where I directed him to be carried upstairs and laid on a bed. I had him wiped clean and dry, placed him in a proper position, and blowed into his mouth. They sent for a doctor, and I gave them my advice to keep on rubbing him gently with warm woolen cloths till the doctor should come, and advised them to let two men lie in bed with him. After half an hour's attendance, as the stage could not tarry, I left him to the care of the neighbors, but am really apprehensive that he was too far gone before taken up to be recovered. The father of the child, Abbot, exhibited a picture—no, an *original*—of grief and horror beyond anything which I ever before saw.*

At one o'clock got home safe and well, and found everything safe and well. Thanks be to the Almighty Preserver and Benefactor!

Memorandum of distances and modes of travelling from Boston to Niagara. †

In the stage, which sets out from Boston on Monday and Thursday mornings, you go the

	Miles.
first day to Brookfield	66
second day to Northampton	34
third day to Pittsfield	40
fourth day to Albany	40
	— 180

Here you may rest, and from hence proceed on any day, forenoon or afternoon, to Schenectada 16

Thence you may go either in the stage-wagon by land, or in boats up the Mohawk River. The former is accomplished in less time than the latter. The stage goes every Tuesday and Friday morning,—

the first day to Canajohara	40
the second to Whites-town	46
	— 102

Here the stage ends.

[Carried over 282]

* Dr. Belknap has added: "I afterward heard that the child was dead."—Eds.

† This memorandum, written on a loose sheet of paper, is pasted into the end of the diary.—Eds.

[Brought over	Miles. 282]
From Whitestown to Fort Stanwix is a wagon-road, and wagons may be hired	12
Fort Stanwix is situate on the upper waters of Mo- hawk River, from which is a portage to Wood Creek, where a canal is now making	2
Thence by water, down Wood Creek to Oneida Lake	27
Across Oneida Lake to Fort Bruington	35
Down the river to Oswego Falls	12
Portage 150 feet. Thence to Oswego Fort on Lake Ontario	12
Thence through the lake to Niagara	160
	<hr/> 260
	542

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH communicated a Memoir of the Hon. Charles H. Warren, by Mr. Winslow Warren; a Memoir of the Hon. Erastus B. Bigelow, by the late Delano A. Goddard; and the Memoir of Mr. Goddard which he was appointed to prepare for the Proceedings, accompanying the presentation of the Memoir of Mr. Bigelow with the following explanation:—

It will be remembered that our valued associate, the late Delano A. Goddard, was appointed to prepare the customary Memoir of another highly esteemed member of this Society, the late Erastus B. Bigelow. For this duty Mr. Goddard had made careful and thorough preparation, and had collected a large mass of materials; but he had not put his Memoir into the shape in which he intended to communicate it. There can be no doubt, however, as to his general plan, and a considerable part of the Memoir had been written out. At his death his materials were placed in my hands; and I now desire to present the Memoir substantially in the form, I believe, which Mr. Goddard meant it should assume. What he had written I have not felt at liberty to change; and it was not necessary to do so. It was only necessary to determine, as nearly as might be, what he intended to print. A few paragraphs which he probably meant to cancel have been omitted; and some additional paragraphs have been inserted in accordance with very clear indications in his memoranda. With the exception of a few words in one place which were needed to complete the sense, and of four short paragraphs, enclosed in brackets, at the end, the Memoir is wholly in Mr. Goddard's own words.

MEMOIR
OF THE
HON. CHARLES H. WARREN, A.M.
BY WINSLOW WARREN.

CHARLES HENRY WARREN was born at Plymouth, Massachusetts, Sept. 29, 1798, and was the fourth child and third son of Henry and Mary (Winslow) Warren, tracing his descent through his father, Henry, and his grandfather, General James Warren, to Richard Warren, of the "Mayflower"; and through his mother, a daughter of Pelham Winslow, and grand-daughter of General John Winslow, of Marshfield, to Edward Winslow, one of the early Pilgrim Governors. The house in which he was born stood upon land allotted to his ancestor, Richard Warren, in one of the earliest divisions of land among the Plymouth settlers; this land having remained in possession of the family from the time of its first allotment. The wording of the early record of this division, Jan. 3, 1627, is suggestive of a humorous intent rather unusual in those times of stern reality, and its injunction may be said in this instance to have been somewhat strictly followed, for the record reads, "That whatsoever the surveighers judge sufficient shall stand without contradiction or opposition, and every man shall *rest contented with his lott.*"

At the outbreak of the Revolution, his father's family warmly espoused the Patriot cause, while the Winslows with equal zeal adhered to the Royal side, representing to them the only defence against anarchy and social ruin. Thus, while the paternal grandfather of Charles, with his patriotic and talented wife, Mercy (Otis) Warren, became conspicuous in Revolutionary councils, Pelham Winslow, his mother's father, was compelled by his Loyalist principles to flee early in the conflict to the British Provinces, with the retreating Royal army. Doubtless such a commingling of blood left its traces in the tastes, characteristics, and views of political prin-

ciples of the Judge, as in later life he was familiarly called, and it is a curious speculation to seek its responsibility for apparently inconsistent traits,—a strong conservatism in some points of his character, and an intense radicalism in others, a most perfect tolerance of honest differences in politics or in the essentials of religion, combined with fiery intolerance of what appeared to him empty form, or of any thing that savored of hypocrisy or deceit; a cautiousness in reaching conclusions nearly approaching timidity, but a quick, unhesitating firmness, regardless of friend or foe, in following a course once adopted as right and just.

An education at Harvard College had long before his time become a tradition among the Plymouth people; and a long line of graduates eminent in political, social, and professional life had borne witness for generations, as it has continued to do to the present day, to the love of learning and devotion to education of the descendants of the Pilgrims. Question has been made of the appreciation by the Pilgrims of Plymouth of educational opportunities, and somewhat unfair comparisons have been drawn in this respect between them and their more powerful neighbors of the Massachusetts Bay. While their poverty, humble station in life, and political insignificance may be admitted, and would seem to furnish a very sufficient reason for a limited support by them of collegiate instruction, it can hardly be said that a band containing such men as Bradford and Brewster and Winslow was without scholarship, or that ordinary hands could have framed the compact on the "Mayflower," or the wise laws and regulations that guided the Colony in its infancy, and taught them a devotion to truth and humanity which has stamped its impress upon educational, religious, and political movements throughout the land. The magnificent results have glorified the humble beginnings, and the weak instrument has been chosen, as oft before in the world's history, for a great purpose. No community of its size can show a longer roll of college graduates, nor a greater proportion of graduates eminent in collegiate departments, in mercantile, or in professional life, than the old town of Plymouth, while the Pilgrim stock, scattered as it has been over the continent, has ever been foremost in advancing knowledge and holding men true to the great principles of an enlightened and free republicanism first illustrated on Plymouth Rock.

It was but natural then that Charles Henry should have had equal opportunities with his two brothers who had preceded him at Harvard; and entering that institution in the

class that graduated in 1817,—with such men as Bancroft and Cushing, Sewall and G. B. Emerson,—he gave early promise by his ready wit, quick perceptions, and rare conversational powers, of a successful and honorable career. Upon graduating he began the study of the law with Judge Thomas, at Plymouth, and completed his legal studies before admission to the bar, with Levi Lincoln, of Worcester. He commenced practice at New Bedford, in partnership with Lemuel Williams, then and for many years afterward a leading member of the Bristol Bar. In 1825 he was married to Abby Burr Hedge, a daughter of Barnabas Hedge, Esq., of Plymouth; and their hospitable home in New Bedford, and subsequently in Boston, will be long remembered by the many friends who enjoyed its social freedom and shared its brilliancy and pleasure.

The Judge's success at the bar was very early assured, and his extraordinary acuteness and logical power obtained for him a large professional business, and a foremost rank at a bar containing many able and prominent members. In 1832 he was appointed district-attorney for the five southern counties,—Bristol, Barnstable, Plymouth, Nantucket, and Dukes,—and held that office until 1839, widely known and respected for his skill and ability in the trial of causes. While district-attorney he became actively interested in political life as a member of the Whig party, and was chosen to the Senate from Bristol County. In October, 1839, he accepted the appointment of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and filled the position very acceptably to the bar until, with other members of the bench, he resigned in 1844, from dissatisfaction with the action of the Legislature in reducing the already small salaries of the judges. Upon leaving the bench, he removed to Boston, and resumed the practice of the law in partnership with Messrs. Rand & Fiske, but continued in active law business only until 1846, when he accepted the presidency of the Boston and Providence Railroad Corporation.

His activity and interest in politics brought him frequently before the public, and his skill in debate and quickness at witty repartee gave him an extended reputation in all parts of the State. In 1851 he was again chosen to the Senate, from the Suffolk District, and in 1853 was made president of that body. In all the political questions of the day he was untiring and active, and for his energy in opposing further expenditure upon the Hoosac Tunnel, was burned in effigy by an indignant gathering at Shelburne Falls, an honor which

he ever regarded as the best testimony of his effective work. Many members of that Legislature now living will recall a witty cartoon ascribed to Mr. Warren, illustrating the "Progress of the great bore (boar)," which had an extensive circulation and threw great ridicule upon the project.

As president of the Railroad Corporation he devoted himself assiduously to the duties of the office, negotiated with skill many important and complicated contracts, carried the railroad triumphantly through many trials and depressions, and when, in 1867, he resigned the office, he had the great satisfaction of leaving to his successor and friend, Governor Clifford, one of the most thoroughly equipped and successful railroad corporations in the country.

In 1857 he was chosen a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, became actively interested in its proceedings, and for many years was a frequent participant in its discussions and investigations. His knowledge of colonial history was extensive and varied, and while his direct contributions to the Society's Proceedings were not numerous, his aid was sought in many of its publications, and no small portion of his time was devoted to its interest and success.

In 1871, warned by the increasing infirmities of age, and by a serious affection of the heart, which for many years had been to him a source of anxiety, Mr. Warren's mind fondly turned to his old home; and removing to Plymouth, he spent the few remaining years of his life amidst the cherished associations of his native town. Those years were to him the crown of his earthly happiness, for nowhere was he more loved and admired than in a circle of congenial friends whose hearts were captivated by his sparkling conversation and hospitable attentions.

The decease of his wife, but a few weeks prior to his own, alone clouded the happiness of his life in Plymouth, and in the summer of 1874 he quietly passed away, leaving to all who knew him the remembrance of a fortunate life, blessed with the warmest friendships and honorable in its attainment of success in whatever positions he had been called to.

In reviewing such a life, the casual observer would be much impressed with the brilliancy of his wit and the quickness of his mental faculties, and numberless are the *bon-mots* and bright stories attributed to him and well remembered by his friends; but those that knew Judge Warren in business, in political life, at the bar or on the bench, bore witness also to his great logical ability, his retentive memory, and that faculty of concentration which enabled him to accomplish

great labors in a remarkably short space of time. Had circumstances afforded a sharper spur, his natural abilities would have won him a more noticeable success; but despite his constitutional inertia the whole weight of his powers was ever given to the duties of his position, and an upright and fearless administration of the law, and correct and honest principles in business and in politics, gave him a reputation and character more lasting than exalted station.

MEMOIR
OF
ERASTUS B. BIGELOW, LL.D.

BY DELANO A. GODDARD.

ERASTUS BRIGHAM BIGELOW was born in West Boylston, Massachusetts, April 2, 1814. His father was a cotton manufacturer in moderate circumstances. The son was early trained in the country habit of taking care of himself. From the age of ten to thirteen he worked upon a farm for a small monthly allowance, attending the district school in the winter. Leaving the farm at thirteen he was set to tending spindles in his father's factory. In that first year he contrived a hand-loom for weaving suspender webbing, — a trifling affair, — and an automatic machine for making piping cord, both of which brought him a small return. With the proceeds of these and other sources he went to a neighboring academy, where he learned enough to become discontented with his lot, and dimly conscious of powers which might be turned to better account than in a spinning-mill. Not being able to continue his studies, and being unwilling to return to the factory, he came to Boston in search of employment. His inquiries led him to the dry goods store of S. F. Morse & Co., in Washington Street, where he was employed as a clerk for several months. His time not being fully employed, he procured books and taught himself stenography. Finding the task easier than he expected, he thought he would offer the privilege to others. He thereupon prepared, and at his own expense printed, "The Self-Taught Stenographer," leaving his place in the store to superintend the work.* His small

* The Self-Taught Stenographer, or Stenographic Guide; explaining the Principles and Rules of the Art of Shorthand Writing; illustrated by appropriate Plates and Examples. Compiled and improved from the latest European and American Publications. By E. B. Bigelow, Stenographer. Lancaster: Printed by Carter, Andrews, & Co. 1832.

edition was soon sold, and brought the young author a handsome profit. Stimulated by this success, he decided to print a larger edition for the country. He took as a partner a young medical student, who agreed to pay for the printing as an offset for Bigelow's copyright. The venture, as might be supposed, was unsuccessful; and the young publishers, after a year's labor, found themselves four hundred dollars in debt. Bigelow at once assumed the obligation, and set about finding means to cancel it. He returned home, and finding his father's old mill idle, he thought it might be turned to some account. Taking another partner, he began the manufacture of twine on a small scale. Some trifling irritations arising there, the young manufacturers moved to Wareham, and started a cotton factory. In nine months it was wound up, with a loss; and Bigelow, now at the age of nineteen, after two independent enterprises, found himself fourteen hundred dollars in debt.

Massachusetts proving so unfriendly, he went to New York for employment. He first took lessons, and then for several months supported himself by teaching penmanship in the city and the neighboring large towns. Still restless and dissatisfied with himself, and perfectly conscious that he was wasting in these fruitless undertakings energies capable of better things, he returned again—not like the Prodigal, for he had done his best—to his father's house. Taking counsel with his father he then resolved to become a physician, his father's circumstances now warranting some assistance. He spent a winter at Leicester Academy in preparation for his new studies, and the year following in the study of medicine. Still, he was embarrassed and annoyed by his imperfect training, and again and again resolved to start afresh; but the means were wanting. While in this quandary he conceived and matured the plan of a power-loom for weaving knotted or Marseilles quilts. Some time before, in his native town, unsuccessful efforts of the same kind had been made; but he was not discouraged. His machine worked so well that he was encouraged to seek capital for manufacturing on a large scale. His confidence served him well. Freeman, Cobb, & Co., importers in Boston, were convinced of the value of the new loom, and entered into an agreement with the inventor to pay all expense incurred to that time, to secure the necessary patents in this country and in England, to build and finish a mill large enough to meet all probable demands of this market, and give the inventor one quarter of the profits. This was his first triumph, and he resolved to use it well in gratifying the one

ruling passion of his life thus far for a thorough education. He began to study anew with a clergyman who was then fitting boys for college, and the future seemed full of promise. But his triumph was of brief duration. It was 1837, a time of great commercial depression and uncertainty. Freeman, Cobb, & Co. failed; the counterpane factory was abandoned, and the loom involved in the confusion of their affairs. His father was also unfortunate, and in failing health. The necessity of providing for immediate wants returned in full force. His books were laid aside once more, and his genius set to work.

In this strait an idea of earlier date returned in full force. While selling his book on stenography in New Jersey, he had seen there the slow and awkward process of making coach-lace by hand. He knew nothing of mechanical principles at this time, except such as his early experiments had taught him. He knew still less of the coach-lace business, its extent, its character, or its profits. Setting out, therefore, on a tour of inquiry among carriage-makers and dealers in carriage materials, he discovered that a power-loom was greatly needed, but that experienced lace-makers had often considered the matter, and found it to be wholly impracticable. That fact, however, made no impression on Bigelow's mind. Taking a piece of coach-lace home, he devoted himself to the problem of automatic weaving till the solution came. His first coach-lace loom was in operation in six weeks from that time. From that moment also was made the fortune of the inventor. With the aid of his older brother Horatio, of Fairbanks, Loring, & Co., and of other friends, a company was formed to build and operate the new looms. This was the beginning of the Clinton Company in Lancaster. Young Bigelow, now in his twenty-third year, was in a condition to pursue his studies as he had long desired. But he felt that the time had passed. He had reached the full maturity of manhood, and he felt that a different and not less promising career than any he had planned for was opening before him.

Just as the coach-lace works were well established, his counterpane loom was, through a turn of good fortune, released from legal duress. He contracted to build three looms at a price, including the ownership of the patent, which at that time seemed extremely liberal. While making arrangements to carry out this contract a new kind of counterpane was introduced from England which young Bigelow saw must soon supersede the knotted counterpanes for which his machines were to be built. He at once communicated the fact

to his principals, to his own loss released them from the contract, and promised to invent a loom which would weave the new counterpanes with greater economy and facility than the English looms. The frankness of his conduct inspired confidence, and a new agreement was made, resulting in the invention of a new automatic loom which was put into operation at Clinton in 1840; and for many years supplied the greater part of the counterpanes used in this country.

His attention was next directed, through a hint given him by Alexander Wright, a manufacturer of large experience, then agent of the Lowell Manufacturing Company, to the imperfections of the loom for weaving ingrain carpets. He determined to apply himself to the invention of a power-loom to remedy these defects. His first loom, made in 1839, increased the product from eight yards daily to twelve yards. His second loom increased the product to eighteen yards; and a third, which speedily followed, to twenty-five yards of two-ply, and eighteen yards three-ply. These successive looms came rapidly into use, and were the foundation of some of the largest factories in the country. His improvements secured more perfect match in the figure, more smooth and even surface, and much greater rapidity of production. The improved method of producing figures to match, invented in 1844, was at once extensively used in connection with looms for weaving plaids and gingham. He at the same time perfected improvements for drying and stretching fabrics, printing warps, and other details of great practical utility.

In the autumn of 1841 he visited England, and found from observation of her manufactures that he had much to learn from them. On his return to Lowell he brought many valuable suggestions, which the manufacturers, after some reluctance, adopted, to their great advantage. With a high sense of the value of Mr. Bigelow's services, the leading mill-owners created a position with a liberal salary, and induced him to accept it. His duties of advising and directing improvements proved unsatisfactory to his active mind, and in eighteen months he retired from it, having in the mean time built for the Lowell Company a large mill with two hundred looms, — the first successful power-loom carpet factory in the world. He also built the first of the Lancaster Mills for weaving gingham, to which the principle of his lace and carpet looms was applied. This was not only the largest, but the best appointed and most perfectly constructed mill till then built in America, and was described at the time as "a

splendid monument to the genius and masterly power of its projector." The buildings, covering four acres of ground, were built according to the best models then known, and were filled with new and complicated machinery never before practically tested, for all of which Mr. Bigelow furnished the working plans as they were needed, with exactness, rapidity, and simplicity. The original genius, luminous sagacity, and constructive power displayed in these great enterprises greatly increased his responsibilities, and won for him the confidence of even the most cautious and conservative men with whom he was associated. During this and the two years following, beside the great works here mentioned, he brought his carpet loom to greater perfection, enlarged the counterpane and coach-lace works, and made nine distinct and new inventions, all of which are now a part of our manufacturing system. The strain was too great for physical endurance. Nature uttered a sharp warning, and he sought rest and relief in foreign travel.

Mr. Bigelow returned from Europe in 1848 in restored health, and devoted himself to completing and perfecting the Brussels carpet loom and to other related improvements. In three years, through distinct and independent inventions, he had in successful and brilliant operation not only looms for weaving two and three ply ingrain carpets, and Brussels and Wilton, but also tapestry Brussels and tapestry velvet carpets. The work of the Brussels loom was exhibited for the first time at the great London Exhibition of 1851, — too late to be entered for prizes, but in time for generous acknowledgment. It was highly praised in the industrial and scientific publications of that time as a most important achievement in the closely contested field of the industrial arts. The looms were at once placed in the great carpet establishment of the Messrs. Crossley & Sons, at Halifax, who later acquired, and whose successors now hold, the patent rights for the United Kingdom. The value of the new invention was highly appreciated by men of influence, who tendered to the inventor many social and public courtesies which his modesty compelled him to decline. It would indeed be difficult to overstate the magnitude, ingenuity, or value of these successive inventions, or the completeness of the revolution they wrought in all the higher branches of textile industry. Of all kinds of labor, that of weaving especially, except goods of the plainest kind, seemed to call at every stage for the exercise of intelligent discretion on the part of the weaver. How to make a machine meet automatically these innumerable ex-

igencies with precision, exactness, rapidity, and economy, adapting itself to the peculiarities of all the different fibres in the same cloth, to the texture of different fabrics, to the fleeting changes of style or fashion, was the problem set before him; and he solved it, not by one stroke, but by many, whose varied and ingenious combinations made this seemingly miraculous variety and beauty of results possible. The evolution of these inventions Mr. Bigelow described in these words: —

“I am not sure that I can convey to your mind a satisfactory idea of the inventive process in my own case. One thing is certain, — it is not chance. Neither does it depend, to any great extent, on suggestive circumstances. These may present the objects, but they are no guide to the invention itself. The falling apple only suggested to Newton a subject of inquiry. All that we know of the law of gravitation had to be reasoned out afterward. My first step towards an invention has always been to get a clear idea of the object aimed at. I learn its requirements as a whole, and also as composed of separate parts. If, for example, that object be the weaving of coach-lace, I ascertain the character of the several motions required, and the relations these must sustain to each other in order to effect the combined result; secondly, I devise means to produce these motions; and thirdly, I combine these means and reduce them to a state of harmonious co-operation. To carry an invention through its first and second stages is comparatively easy. The first is simply an investigation of facts; the second, so far as I can trace the operation of my own mind, comes through the exercise of the imagination. I am never at a loss for means in the sense above explained. On the contrary, my chief difficulty is to select from the variety always at command those which are most appropriate. To make this choice of the elementary means and to combine them in unity and harmony — to conduct, that is, an invention through its last practical stages — constitutes the chief labor. In making this choice of the elementary parts one must reason from what is known to what is not so, — keeping in mind, at the same time, the necessary combinations, examining each element, not only in reference to its peculiar function, but to its fitness also for becoming a part of the whole. Each device must be thus examined and re-examined until harmony and unity are fully established. I find no difficulty in effecting that concentration of thought which is so necessary in pursuits like mine. Indeed, it is not easy for me to withdraw my mind from any subject in which it has once become interested, until its general bearings, at least, are fully ascertained. I always mature in my mind the general plan of an invention before attempting to execute it, resorting occasionally to sketches on paper for the more intricate parts. In building a machine, a draughtsman prepares the working-drawings from sketches furnished by me, which indicate in figures the proportions of the parts. I never make any thing with my own hands. I do not like even drawing to a scale.”

He took out fifty patents in the United States, most of them connected with the textile arts.* His more important inventions, aside from those devoted to special industries, were revolving tenters for stretching and drying gingham; mechanism for imparting and reversing the movement of power looms; mechanism for regulating the tension and delivery of the warps; harness-operating mechanism; the friction brake-stop mechanism, now applied to power looms generally, controlling the movement of the loom when thrown out of gear, &c. His prudence and sagacity enabled him to reap the fruit of his own inventions except in a single instance. On the basis of his inventions were successively built the mills of the Clinton Company for the manufacture of coach-lace, subsequently sold and removed to Philadelphia; of the Clinton Wire Cloth Company; the Lancaster Mills, for the manufacture of gingham; the Bigelow Carpet Company, for the manufacture of Brussels and Wilton carpets. The product of the carpet mills in three years equalled the entire importation of English Brussels at the time of starting.

In the autumn of 1860 — a time of intense political feeling — Mr. Bigelow was nominated as a candidate to Congress by the Democrats of the Fourth (Suffolk) District. He was not successful. But the canvass, though conducted with the spirit of the times, was free from personalities or any thing calculated to wound the self-respect of candidates. From that time Mr. Bigelow recognized no party allegiance, preferring to be free to oppose or support public measures according to his unbiased judgment of their merits.

With something like the same intellectual sagacity and precision which he gave to his inventions, he dealt with public interests. Being chosen in the late autumn of 1864 first President of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, he at once prepared a statement of which the leading idea was the community of interests between the great industries of the country, and especially between "men whose pursuits are different yet allied, — as between those, for instance, who grow the raw material and those who manufacture it."

* In 1860 Mr. Bigelow presented to the Library of our Society six large volumes, entitled "Inventions of Erastus Brigham Bigelow, Patented in England from 1837 to 1868," and comprising the printed specifications of eighteen of his inventions which had been patented in England up to that time. Among Mr. Goddard's memoranda are careful abstracts, in his own handwriting, of these specifications. It is not probable that he intended to insert them in his Memoir; but the fact that he made them deserves mention, as showing the thoroughness of his preparation for the duty assigned him. — C. C. S.

This was the first suggestion of the close and intimate alliance between the wool-growers and wool manufacturers of the country, which for the last fifteen years of Mr. Bigelow's life swayed the legislation of the country, and was the basis and impulse of their common prosperity. This is not the place to rehearse the successive steps by which the delicate and difficult task was accomplished; the breaking down of the presumption of hostile interests; the forcing of long-standing prejudices; the removal of deeply seated suspicions; the harmonizing of petty differences and large oppositions in support of one scheme sufficiently broad, just, practical, and wise to shield them all.

Mr. Bigelow was a clear, methodical, and elegant writer, if simplicity and precision of language chosen perfectly to express thought is a sign of elegance. He was never moved to write for the sake of writing, but always to correct what he believed to be current errors of opinion, and to afford more intelligent grounds for those who substantially agreed with him on the most rational and expedient public policy. His first printed treatise, in 1858, on the depressed state of our manufactures, was called forth by the circumstances of the time. His next and most important work, "The Tariff Question, Considered in Regard to the Policy of England and the Interests of the United States," published in 1862, is a large quarto, the text forming less than one third, and the rest being a carefully selected body of tables forming "the most precious collection of instructive economical facts ever published in this country." In 1877 he published "The Tariff Policy of England and the United States Contrasted," which had a wide circulation and great influence in this and other countries.*

[Mr. Bigelow's remarkable powers as an inventor did not fail of ample recognition. Four colleges conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts, — Williams, in 1845; Yale, in 1852; Dartmouth, in 1854; and Harvard, in 1861;

* In addition to the works here named, Mr. Bigelow delivered in 1869, before the American Institute of New York, an "Address on the Wool Industry of the United States," which was extensively circulated in pamphlets and newspapers. In 1878 he contributed to the "Atlantic Monthly" a very able article on "The Relations of Labor and Capital," and he was the author of many contributions to current publications. At the meeting of our Society in November, 1876, he gave a short and very interesting account of the origin and growth of Clinton. When he was requested by the Committee to write out his remarks for publication in the Proceedings, he said that as soon as he could find time to do so he would prepare a fuller account, and make it a Communication in the usual form. Unfortunately he was not able to do this. — C. C. S.

and in 1867 he received from Amherst College the degree of Doctor of Laws. He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in April, 1864, and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in January, 1866. Beside these honors he was made a member of the London Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

Though Mr. Bigelow did so much for Clinton that he may be regarded almost as its founder, he was not in later years a resident of the town. His home was in Boston ; and about six months of every year were passed on his farm in North Conway, New Hampshire, to which he was greatly attached. There his active mind found abundant and pleasant occupation in planning improvements, erecting farm buildings, and devising efficient methods of irrigation.

In the best sense of the term he was a man of large public spirit. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and a steadfast friend of its devoted President, the late William B. Rogers. He was also a Trustee of the Museum of Fine Arts, and a valued counsellor in not a few business corporations. "Though shrinking always from public notoriety, and especially averse to the conflicts and exaggerations of political life, he was always ready to respond to every reasonable demand upon his time, his labor, or his fortune."

The strain on its powers to which Mr. Bigelow's mind had been so long and so often subjected, was not without effect. There was no apparent loss of physical or mental vigor, but not the less certain was the result. On the 6th of December, 1879, while transacting business in his own office, he had an attack of apoplexy, which terminated fatally in the afternoon of the same day. He had had a busy and prosperous career, he had built up an ample fortune, and he left an unsullied reputation. The prosperous community which his genius called into being is his enduring monument.]

MEMOIR
OF
DELANO A. GODDARD, A.M.

BY CHARLES C. SMITH.

DELANO ALEXANDER GODDARD was born in Worcester, Aug. 27, 1831, and was the youngest son of Benjamin and Sally (Stockwell) Goddard. The father was a man of inflexible integrity, — cold in speech and manner, but with generous impulses and broad sympathies, — an early advocate of the temperance cause, and an antislavery man, but never an extremist. He carried his principles into his daily life, and under his own roof there was no difference in the treatment of negroes and whites. Financial embarrassment overtook him in middle life, and deprived the older boys of the liberal education he intended for them ; but with returning prosperity he paid all his debts, with interest added. The mother was a quiet, gentle woman, with refined tastes, fond of home, and wholly devoted to her family. In the son it was easy to see the blended traits of both parents, — an undemonstrative manner, generous impulses, a calm, clear judgment, sturdy uprightness, an innate refinement, and devotion to family and friends. His early education was in the Worcester schools, and from the first he exhibited a marked fondness for reading and study.

His father was a wire-manufacturer, and while at school the boy's half-holidays were spent in the mill. One day while he was standing at his machine, book in hand, as he was accustomed to do, his father came along, and in a somewhat austere manner said : " Delano, do you want to go to college ? " The boy could have had little hesitation. " Yes, sir ! " was his answer. " Well, " was the simple, explicit direction, " go home, change your clothes, and go to the academy to be examined. " Nothing more was said. He was admitted to the academy, passed through the course with credit, and at graduating delivered the valedictory. It im-



D. A. Goulden
Aug 27. - 1877.



D. A. Goulden
Aug 27. - 1877.

pressed those who heard it by the vigor of thought and polish of style.

Having completed his preparatory studies, he entered Brown University in 1849. He remained only a year, and then went to New Haven, and, joining the Sophomores of Yale College, graduated with credit in a class of exceptional distinction, — the class of 1853. Though warmly attached to his college, and with a good deal of the class feeling, he had few intimate friends at this time. But in spite of his shyness he won esteem by the moral and mental qualities which characterized him through life, and he was reputed to be one of the best writers in the college. "I remember my first meeting him as if it were yesterday," says one of the most distinguished of his classmates. "It was in the division room of our class at Yale. He read an essay. The nobility of the thought, the clearness of the language, at once seized upon my attention; and from that moment I have held him in honor." His college life must have left pleasant recollections, for in later years he often went back to Commencement, and he was one of the founders of the Association of Yale Alumni in Boston and its Vicinity.

After graduating he went West to seek his fortune, and like many other young men of high aims, but without the self-confident assurance and the social tastes so needful for success in a new country, he failed at first to find congenial employment. Unwilling, at the age of twenty-two, to fall back on his father for assistance, he spent some months in Cleveland, Ohio, supporting himself by his own exertions. He then went to the little town of Painesville, and entered the office of the local paper, the Painesville "Herald," and began his career as a journalist, — the profession which he had deliberately chosen before leaving college. Here he remained about a year, and then returned to Worcester. The following year was spent at home; and in 1856 he came to Boston, and was for a few months connected editorially with the "Chronicle," a small and short-lived daily paper. Early in 1857 he returned again to Worcester, and became associate editor of the Worcester "Transcript." Subsequently he became associate editor of the "Massachusetts Spy," writing most of the leading articles; and, during the absence of the editor-in-chief in Washington as a member of Congress, he had the sole management of the paper, then as now one of the most influential papers in the State.

While in Worcester, at the annual election in November, 1861, and again in November, 1867, he was chosen a member

of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. All his tastes, however, were opposed to public and official life, and on no other occasion does he appear to have allowed his name to be used as a candidate for any public office. But he did not refuse to be one of the trustees of the Worcester Public Library, in which capacity he served from November, 1867, until his removal to Boston. Writing to his class secretary some years after graduating, he said he had had no honors, "unless the respect of the community in which I live is one, and that I trust I have received."

On the 30th of June, 1863, he was married to Miss Martha Howland Le Baron, of Worcester,—a lady singularly qualified to make his home happy. "I never saw a happier home," says one who passed several weeks under his roof near the close of his life. "I never saw a happier husband. Whatever sadness or anxiety his face had upon it in the street or in his office, it all gave way to an indescribably peaceful and joyous look in the presence of his wife, and in the serenity of his own home; and if the company there was not large, or if you could draw him aside for a chat by yourself, there and then you might get to know Goddard truly,—the warmth of his affections, the grace of that courtesy of his, too sincere and too shy for large assemblies, his wise judgments on life, on men, on books, the breadth and accuracy of his knowledge, his loyalty to friendship, his faith in the unseen verities and potencies, his faith in the victorious strength of principle."

In April, 1868, he was appointed editor of the Boston "Daily Advertiser," and at once removed to Boston and entered on his new duties, though he continued to serve as a member of the House of Representatives until the adjournment of the Legislature in June. The life of the chief editor of an influential paper in a great city is not likely to be an eventful one. His time and his thoughts must be devoted to a single object; and in proportion as he merges his own individuality in that of the paper, does he discharge his high functions. Constant vigilance as to what goes into it, untiring mental activity, and multifarious knowledge is the price he must pay for gaining and holding the public confidence. He must see that personal or party prejudice does not color or distort the daily record of current events, that all editorial discussions of vexed questions shall proceed from an adequate acquaintance with the subject, and be conducted according to high aims and principles. If he wishes to guide and mould public opinion, the paper must be up to or in advance of the best sentiment of the community, and he must

never allow his motives to be open to suspicion. Mr. Goddard felt fully the responsibility of his position, and was always alert to make the paper conform to his own high ideals. Though he was obliged to write much for it himself, he did not write overmuch. He was always ready to welcome new writers; and for the treatment of special subjects he sought the assistance of the persons best qualified for their discussion.

In the young men who passed through the office from time to time, and then entered other fields of labor, he felt a deep interest. "He took me a raw youth from college, with little experience, and trained me in the highest school of journalism," says one who has since acquired distinction. "His counsel aided largely in giving direction to my reading and thinking. His encouragement rewarded my office labors, and stimulated my zeal. And his advice and support sent me to Europe, opened for me new opportunities for journalistic and literary work, and, I may say, indirectly led the way to academic engagements." Childless himself, he watched with sympathetic interest the growth and development of the children of his friends passing through college or pursuing their studies abroad.

As an editor Mr. Goddard was characterized by great breadth of view and a judicial fairness of mind. His tastes were catholic, and he was ready to recognize merit wherever it existed. Though quick to decide when the moment for decision came, he first had recourse to all the available sources of information, and then weighed his authorities with a singular freedom from prejudice. As he approached middle life he revised and modified some of the opinions of his early years, and did not hesitate to say so, and to add that the men with whom he always sympathized had failed to do justice to those whom they opposed. Few men at that period of life grow so much as Mr. Goddard grew after he became responsible editor of the "Advertiser." There was no case-hardening of early prejudices, if he ever had any, but a steady and natural growth both morally and intellectually. He was an indefatigable worker, and was always at his desk, or wherever personal oversight of any department of the paper might call him. An occasional short vacation was all the recreation he allowed himself. "I did not get away Tuesday," he wrote to a friend not many months before his death. "Ten thousand things prevented; but I hope to go to-morrow morning, and get out of the tangle till Monday. I pray for a peaceful Sunday among the Berkshire hills."

Though frail and somewhat delicate in appearance, he had naturally a strong constitution and great recuperative power. In the early spring of 1876 he had a serious illness, which gave his friends much anxiety; but he soon recovered from it and hastened back to his work. A sea voyage, however, seemed almost absolutely necessary for his entire restoration, and early in May he went to England, where he spent a month, and reached home in the latter part of June. Among other places he visited Oxford and the Isle of Wight, but he did not go over to the Continent. While in London he was again seriously ill, and was under the care of a physician. To one who loved home so much as did Mr. Goddard, absence and the loneliness of a great city are always depressing; and he could not but feel their effect. "Thank you heartily for your letter," he wrote to a friend. "It was all the more welcome because I can't be out all day, and the hours when I am at the hotel alone are sometimes very long. All the things you wrote about I was glad to know, but more than all that you were so thoughtful of my forlorn condition. Disabled and half-equipped as I am, I have seen a great many interesting things, and yet I have hardly begun the rounds. I don't know that I shall make the attempt, for next week I am going to the Isle of Wight for a few days, and that will make my stay here exceedingly short. If I get better, as I hope to, perhaps I can come again some time under better circumstances. If not, just as well. Occasionally I feel like a tainted wether of the flock, but it does not last long, — just long enough to make the future seem a little uncertain, without taking all the light out of it." Short as his absence was, the enforced rest, the change of scene, and the sea voyage — for he was always fond of the sea — proved a permanent benefit to him. He came home obviously better; and his health steadily improved afterward.

In the early part of 1880 he made a somewhat extended tour through the Southern and Western States, and was absent from his post for several weeks, largely, no doubt, for the purpose of ascertaining from his own observations what was the political and social condition of that part of the country. In this journey he made many new friends, and became personally acquainted with the needs of many of the local institutions of a literary and scientific character which had suffered severely from the effects of the Rebellion.

Among the questions in which Mr. Goddard took a deep interest, that of the relations of the United States with the Indians deserves special mention. He felt that great wrong

had been done to the latter, and especially that the removal of the Ponca tribe from their reservation was an act of flagrant injustice. He made it the subject of very earnest discussion in his paper, sought by personal appeal to awaken the interest of others, and went to Washington to plead the cause of the Indians. It was mainly through his efforts that a Commission was appointed to investigate the whole subject; and not the least remarkable of the tributes to his unselfish life were the speeches made a few weeks after his death at a council of the Omaha Indians. "Now that our friend is dead, we can only ask those who live to pity us as he pitied us," are the touching words of one of the most intelligent of these Indians. It was only a conspicuous instance of Mr. Goddard's unstinting generosity and deep sympathy with men and women in distress. His ear was always open to the appeal of any one who needed help. From his own resources he gave as he was able; and he interested men of ampler means in the cases with which he had become personally familiar. In a way, and to an extent, of which his friends knew very little while he lived, he helped those who were unable to help themselves and who had no claim on him except a common humanity, — a claim made stronger by sickness, physical inability, or unrequited public service.

Mr. Goddard was too busy and too devoted to his professional duty to attempt much literary work outside of the columns of his own paper. But in February, 1880, he read before the Historic, Genealogical Society a valuable and instructive paper on "Newspapers and Newspaper Writers in New England, 1787-1815," which was afterward printed in a pamphlet of nearly forty pages. In the same month he read before the Yale Alumni Association of Boston and its Vicinity a short and well-considered paper on the necessity of keeping the balance of powers in civil institutions even and true, which was afterward privately printed under the title of "Guards and Safeguards." On the publication of the most recent edition of the *Speeches of Daniel Webster*, he contributed to the number of the "Atlantic Monthly" for January, 1880, a short and very excellent article on Mr. Webster's characteristics as an orator and statesman. Earlier than these, — in April, 1870, — an article which he had written for his own paper, on the connection of Increase and Cotton Mather with the witchcraft delusion, was reprinted by Mr. Henry Stevens in a little volume of thirty-two pages, with the quaint title, "The Mathers weighed in the Balances by Delano A. Goddard, M.A., and found not wanting." But

it is by his thorough and masterly chapters on "The Press and Literature of the Provincial Period," and on "The Pulpit, Press, and Literature of the Revolution," in the "Memorial History of Boston," that Mr. Goddard will be best known as a writer. They were the fruit of careful and diligent study, and are marked by the breadth of knowledge and fairness of mind which are stamped on every thing he wrote, and by great clearness and vigor of style. If he had done nothing else, they alone would be sufficient to give him an established place among the influential writers of his time. At his death he had nearly completed a Memoir of the late Erastus B. Bigelow, for publication in the Proceedings of the Historical Society. The abundance of the materials he had collected for this purpose shows how thorough he meant to be in every thing he undertook.

Mr. Goddard was unanimously elected a member of the Historical Society in October, 1874; and at the Annual Meeting in April, 1879, he was elected a member of the Council. At his death he was chairman of the Executive Committee of that body. In the discussions in the Council he did not take a prominent part, but he was always ready to state his views clearly and modestly, and his opinions had great weight with his associates. Few members have been more regular in their attendance at the meetings of the Council or of the Society; and he was often at the rooms at other times for study and investigation as to matters in which he was specially interested. He was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society at the Annual Meeting in October, 1880, and was present at the Semi-annual Meeting held in Boston in the following April. This was the only meeting of the Society he was able to attend, though he was greatly interested in its objects. He took the degree of Master of Arts, in regular course, at Yale College in 1856.

Early in January, 1882, Mr. Goddard had a severe attack of pneumonia. After apparently yielding to medical treatment, the first attack was followed by a second, which terminated fatally, at half-past one on the morning of January 11. It was just a week from the time he said "Good-night" to his associates in the office, as he finished his last day's work. A few hours later the announcement of his death was made in his own paper in words which fitly expressed the loss the whole community had sustained. That sense of loss was further shown in the great company which gathered at his funeral in King's Chapel to testify their respect to his memory. The services were simple, as befitted his character and

tastes ; but out of full hearts and from ample knowledge, two of his associates in this Society, the Rev. Henry W. Foote and the Rev. Edward E. Hale, bore testimony to his rare ability and his spotless character. From the Chapel, at which he had been a regular attendant during his residence in Boston, his mortal remains were carried to their final resting-place in the beautiful rural cemetery of his native city.

It has been said that nothing is so evanescent as the fame of a great lawyer. The remark is even more true of the editor of a great and influential newspaper. To the larger part of the constituency which looks to it for the proper moulding of public opinion the editor has no distinct individuality, and even his name is often unknown. The articles which he writes, or causes to be written by others, produce an immediate and deep impression ; but as new questions arise the old questions and the leading articles which helped to their settlement are forgotten. No one except an historical student thinks of reading the newspaper articles of last year or of any previous year, though they may have changed the course of events and inspired movements of permanent usefulness. Mr. Goddard confined himself so exclusively to the work of his profession that he left no adequate memorial of his powers as a thinker and writer. His own reputation, therefore, like that of other men of his profession, must be mainly traditional ; but the good he did will live after him in many a beneficent result to which his pen largely contributed.

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